

Logistics Matters: the Growth of Little Americas in Occupied Germany

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ABSTRACT

The U. S. Army's presence in Germany after the Nazi regime's capitulation in May 1945, required pursuit of two stated missions: (1) to secure German borders, and (2) to establish an occupation government within the U. S. assigned occupation zone. Both missions required logistics support, an often unstated but critical mission. The security mission, provided largely by the combat troops, declined between 1945 and 1948, but grew again, with the Berlin Blockade in 1948, and then with the Korean crisis in 1950. However, the occupation mission grew under the military government (1945-1949), and then during the Allied High Commission era (1949-1955). The build-up of U. S. Army infrastructure during the early occupation years has stood forward-deployed U. S. military forces in Europe in good stead throughout the ensuing years.

The United States military force, predominantly the U. S. Army, was the only U. S. Government agency possessing the ability and resources needed to support the occupation mission. Furthermore, U. S. Army logistics support underpinned not only the U. S. military occupation mission between 1945 and 1949, the U. S. presence on the Allied High Commission until its official retirement in 1955, but also the U. S. security forces on the ground throughout the entire period and for decades later.

The objectives in this study are threefold. First, to validate that U. S. Army logistics in the U. S. Zone of Occupation in Germany between 1945 and 1949 laid the foundation for the long-term presence of the U. S. Army in Germany. Second, to analyze the rationale for the build-up of logistics during this period. Third, to analyze the impact of U. S. Army soldiers, aspects of their logistics support mission, and family members on the German population.

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Two months after a successful dissertation defense, pondering how to wrap up the last administrative and dissertation submission details, I spoke again with one of the two people who really lived almost daily with my project and me, albeit one of the two often from a distance. While both people are German to the core, the one remains in Germany, the other here in the United States. Suse Pfeiffer, a Württemberger, is almost eighty-nine now but she was twenty at the end of the war, and lived in the U. S. occupation zone. The other person was only four years old, also lived within the U. S. occupation zone, but too young to remember many details. The one with whom I spoke this morning, Suse, not only provided me with her own experiences, but introduced me to a number of others from her age group, who rounded out the stories with their own experiences. Moreover, Suse has constantly supported my efforts, and this morning was no different. The other, my husband, Jürgen, not only raised my often-sagging spirits, but also provided focus and perspective and more often than not, cleared a path through the sometime bureaucratic German archival system. I cannot over-emphasize the role these two played in my completion of this narrative. As important as their support has been to me personally, however, I could not have completed this project without a mountain (a nice logistics term) of assistance and support from professional sources.

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I am finished. At last!

Lee Kruger
Leavenworth, Kansas
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For Suse and Jürgen,
with this dissertation, your stories are now a written part of history!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I. HISTORIC ROOTS OF GERMANY’S POST WAR ECONOMIC AND LOGISTICS CHALLENGES.....	34
INTRODUCTION	34
1. CHALLENGE: EXPOSING THE ROOTS OF GERMANY’S ECONOMIC SITUATION	35
1.1 <i>Historic Reliance on Foreign Trade</i>	37
1.2 <i>A Choice: Again, Kanonen statt Butter? Germany’s Four-Year Plans</i>	43
1.3 <i>Kriegswirtschaft: Feeding Mars to Fight the War</i>	46
2. CHALLENGE: STUNDE NULL? FACING DEFEAT AND DESTRUCTION, 1945	50
2.1 <i>The Nazi Inheritance: Reality on the Ground at War’s End</i>	54
2.2 <i>Tausch-, Schleichhandel und Fringsen (Bartering, Black Marketing and Scrounging)</i>	60
3. SUMMARY	63
CHAPTER II. U. S. STRATEGIC PLANNING FOR THE OCCUPATION OF GERMANY.....	66
INTRODUCTION: THE POLITICAL BECOMES LOGISTICAL.....	66
1. HOW TO PLAN AND PREPARE FOR THE U. S. ARMY OCCUPATION IN GERMANY	67
1.1 <i>An Occupation Model: Die Wacht am Rhein, 1919</i>	68
1.2 <i>A Handbook for Military Occupation?</i>	75
2. PLANNING ORGANIZATIONS FOR OCCUPATION POLICY	77
3. EXECUTING OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT: PLANNING DECISIONS AND DOCUMENTS	90
4. CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS AND UNPLANNED INITIATIVES	114
CHAPTER III. U. S. ARMY MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND MISSIONS IN OCCUPIED GERMANY	117
INTRODUCTION	117
1. U. S. ARMY MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS IN OCCUPIED GERMANY	118
1.1 <i>European Theater of Operations (ETOUSA)</i>	119
1.2 <i>Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF)</i>	123
1.3 <i>U. S. Forces European Theater (USFET)</i>	130
1.4 <i>Communications Zone (COMZ)</i>	131
1.5 <i>Headquarters, European Command (HQ EUCOM)</i>	137
1.6 <i>The 1st Infantry Division in Germany</i>	140
2. MISSIONS OF THE U. S. ARMY OCCUPATION FORCES IN GERMANY	140
2.1 <i>Missions. Provide Security, Redeploy forces, Repatriate Displaced Persons, Logistically Support the Force, and Assist the German Population with Critical Infrastructure Repair and Procurement of Food as Necessary.</i>	142
2.2 <i>Implement the Four Ds: Demilitarize, Denazify, Decartelize, Democratize</i>	149
3. CONCLUSION	157
CHAPTER IV. SUPPORT THE MILITARY FORCE, DISPLACED PERSONS AND FAMILY.....	159
PART A: SUPPORT THE FORCE	
INTRODUCTION: LOGISTICS MATTERS. THE BIRTH OF LITTLE AMERICAS.....	159
1. WHAT UNITS REMAINED WHERE TO SUPPORT? LOGISTICS IS EVERYTHING	163
2. LOGISTICS REALITY ON THE GROUND.....	165
2.1 <i>U. S. Lines of Communications (LOC)</i>	170
2.1.1 <i>PLUTO, Pipeline Under the Ocean</i>	172
2.1.2 <i>The French LOC: West to East through France</i>	172
2.1.3 <i>The German LOC: North to South, Bremerhaven to Bremen to the U. S. Occupation Zone</i>	174
2.2 <i>Supporting the Force</i>	178

2.2.1 Transportation: How does the stuff get there?	181
2.2.2 Billeting and Construction: Tent City or a Roof Over One's Head?	187
2.2.3 Supply: What? More than 3 million Soldiers for Dinner?	198
2.2.4 Communications: Radios, Phones, Newspapers, Magazines	205
2.2.5 The Army Exchange Service: Cigarettes, Beer, Toothbrushes, Underwear, a Haircut!	206
2.2.6 Morale, Sports, Movies, Live Entertainment, Clubs, Religious Activities	211
2.2.7 Medical Care: Acute and Preventive	214
PART B: SUPPORT THE LOCAL POPULATIONS	
3. LOGISTICS: THE LOCAL POPULATIONS – GERMANS, DISPLACED PERSONS, EXPELLEES, REFUGEES	218
3.1 Who was responsible for the DPs, Expellees, and Refugees?	219
3.2 Population categories	220
3.2.1 Expellees	221
3.2.2 Refugees	221
3.2.3 Displaced Persons (DPs)	222
3.2.3.1 Billeting	224
3.2.3.2 Feeding	226
PART C: SUPPORT THE FAMILIES	
4. LOGISTICS REALLY MATTERS: LITTLE AMERICAS BEGIN TO CRAWL	228
4.1 U. S. Army Planning and Logistics Preparation for Family Arrivals	230
4.2 The First Families Arrive in Germany, April 1946	235
4.2.1 Where to Live and How to Move Around	236
4.2.2 Furniture, Refrigerators, Stoves, Washing Machines, and Vacuum Cleaners	236
4.2.3 Textbooks, Teachers and the Dependent School System (DSS)	238
4.2.4 The Army Exchange Service and Sears & Roebuck: Perfume, Hosiery and Diapers	241
4.2.5 Leisure and Recreation	243
5. SUMMARY: LONG-TERM IMPACT OF COMMUNITIES ON THE LOGISTICS SUPPORT SYSTEM	247
CHAPTER V. LOGISTICS, THE BRIDGE TO CULTURAL EXCHANGE:	
BRATWURST VERSUS BURGER	250
INTRODUCTION	250
1. U. S. POST-WAR DEMOCRATIZATION AND REEDUCATION/REORIENTATION POLICY	252
2. FROM POLICY TO EXECUTION OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND REEDUCATION	258
2.1 Mission of the Information Control/Information Services Division	258
2.2 Mission of the Education and Religious Affairs/Education and Cultural Affairs Division	260
2.3 Logistics Implications for ICD, and ERAD	262
3. THE BATTLE FOR GERMAN SCHOOL REFORM	266
3.1 Development of OMGUS German School Reform Philosophy	269
3.2 The OMGUS Plan: School Structures and Education Policy	282
3.3 The School Reform Battle in the U. S. Occupation Zone	289
3.3.1 Württemberg-Baden	289
3.3.2 School Reform in the other Länder in the U. S. Occupation Zone	294
3.4 Logistics Support to the School Reform Battle	294
3.5 Conclusions on School Reform	295
4. AMERIKAHÄUSER	297
5. THE ARMY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM TO GERMAN YOUTH ACTIVITIES (GYA)	304
6. U. S. ARMY LOGISTICS IN SUPPORT OF OMGUS EDUCATION AND CULTURAL PROGRAMS	313
7. SUMMARY: IMPACT OF OFFICIAL POLICIES AND U. S. ARMY LOGISTICS ON GERMAN SOCIETY	320
CONCLUSIONS: WE ARE IN COUNTRY FOR THE LONG HAUL	323
APPENDICES	332
GLOSSARY	366
BIBLIOGRAPHY	371

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Introduction

But the Second World War had been a war unlike any other, right from the start – when Germany had held the whip hand and had broken all the usual conventions of conquest – and now that the Reich was on its knees, the Allies would likewise throw away the rule book when it came to the territorial and human consequences of victory.¹

If World War II was unlike any preceding war then the occupation that followed was unprecedented and unique. Four sovereign states occupied another sovereign state, forced it to surrender unconditionally and abdicate its sovereignty, set up four zonal military governments with the intent to demilitarize, deindustrialize, decartelize and democratize the country, and then establish a peace treaty, returning sovereignty to that state – Germany. Further, never before had the U. S. military worked so hard to change a state and a nation of people as the U. S. military government did in its occupation zone and Berlin sector within Germany between 1945 and 1949. Systemically and often daily U. S. occupation policy permeated the lives of Germans.

Never before had logistics played such an eminent role in fighting and supporting not only the U. S. military forces, but also Allied forces, to win the war. While combat officially ended with capitulation, the logistics mission continued. Without U. S. military logistics resources, the occupation, at least in Western Germany would have ended in a fiasco. One could say that while the fighters and flyers won the war, logisticians won the peace.

The U. S. Government's position on Allied occupation policy, not yet scripted at the start of the war, faced continued rewrites even after Victory-in-Europe (V-E) Day. Undoubtedly, neither the British, nor the Soviets, and after Potsdam, the French, had prepared executable plans on the shelf by May 1945. In fact, the Big Three (Britain, Soviet Union, United States) only

¹ Frederick Taylor, *Exorcising Hitler: the Occupation and Denazification of Germany* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2011), 67.

approved the division of Germany into occupation zones by September 1944, and that would change again in February 1945, when the Soviets agreed to France receiving a zone (see Appendix III.2.1, Occupation Zones Map).

The Potsdam Protocol, agreed to by the Big Three went into effect on 1 August 1945, three months after Victory in Europe (V-E) Day (8 May 1945). The Protocol (Section II B, paragraph 14)² established the principle of economic unity within occupied Germany. The levels of industry³ established under the Potsdam Protocol and subsequent Allied Control Council and Foreign Minister Council meetings acknowledged the uneven distribution of resources among the occupation zones – hence the necessity for economic unity. However, the four occupation powers -- Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the United States – through the Allied Control Council, never achieved this objective. The inability or unwillingness to establish economic unity left each occupation government to govern, and provide needed resources individually within their zone in accordance with national guidance. President Roosevelt, as early as December 1943,⁴ alluded to a short, harsh and total occupation of one or two years in Germany following unconditional surrender and victory. Unlike the armistice, Versailles Peace Treaty and partial Rhineland Occupation following World War I, this occupation developed into a decade-

² The Potsdam Protocol is discussed in detail in Chapter II, following.

³ This term was decided upon by Allied Control Council members and their advising economists to define the amount of production Germany would be allowed in order provide basics for the indigenous population as well as to cover the costs of necessary imports – primarily food supplies as well as raw resources for small industry manufacturing.

⁴ President Franklin D. Roosevelt, even by the Tehran Conference in December 1943, commented that a one or two years' occupation would suffice. As far as the senior military leaders, e.g., General Dwight D. Eisenhower, they had hoped the State Department would pick up the occupation government mission from capitulation forward; at worst, an initial military government could be turned over to State Department colleagues as early as a few months after German capitulation. See, for example, correspondence between General Eisenhower and General Marshall, 24 Sep 1945, 13, 23 Oct 1945, or his letter to President Truman, 26 Oct 1945 (copies located at Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Eisenhower Papers, Box 80, file July-December 1945, and President Truman's response of 2 Nov 1945 at the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library, Official B File). Of course, late in the war, President Roosevelt selected the U. S. Army as the occupation government and security force to govern in Germany. An occupation end date was not established during the war.

long occupation followed by the decades-long stationing of U.S. military forces and civilian personnel on West German soil, and finally a peace treaty forty-five years later.

How did a year or two turn into more than half a century? What issues and events lay at the roots of the massive build-up of infrastructure in the U. S. occupation zone in Germany by the U. S. military forces, and particularly by the U. S. Army?

The orthodox metanarrative for the build-up of American military forces on German soil after World War II suggests that responses to a perceived political-military threat and the ideological goal of world domination by the Soviet Union accounted for the extension and build-up of the U. S. military presence in Germany. As the Cold War developed, those espousing this argument opined that American military forces with their allies controlling the British and French zones of occupation would delay, if not counter, the potent Soviet military forces in East Germany and the neighboring Eastern European countries in the event of a Soviet attempt to move west of the agreed-upon zonal boundaries.

This perception of a Soviet threat in Europe existed in numerous U. S. Government and possibly academic circles even before war's end. In fact, according to Mark Stoler, *Allies and Adversaries*,⁵ American Joint Chiefs of Staff planners had already begun in 1944-1946 to develop mid-term strategic plans naming the Soviet Union as a potential adversary. Moreover, according to this neo-orthodox narrative, the American military strategists also considered the British as potential adversaries. No doubt, many in the U. S. military establishment did consider Soviet military forces as the latent if not overt threat, regardless; it is the nature of a military organization to plan strategically for future operations – such operations based on assumptions in most cases. Furthermore, American planners certainly had reason to see the USSR as a potential

⁵ Mark A. Stoler, *Allies and Adversaries: the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Grand Alliance and U. S. Strategy in World War II* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

competitor, if not adversary. William Baugh offers a tableau of global trends already by 1945 pointing in this direction: a declining British Empire already facing loss of key colonies, a defeated France facing a difficult political future at home as well as clashes within its colonial empire, and a defeated Germany not likely to challenge its traditional competitors in the near future.⁶ Adding to the mix, the only state capable of carrying the economic burden of war, the United States, would most likely not retreat again to its northern hemisphere borders.

While American strategic planners considered the Soviets as future adversaries, I believe it unlikely that President Truman or his senior advisors considered a military confrontation with the Soviet Union likely within the first five years after World War II. Rather, it would appear that President Truman opted for political stability through economic recovery, as a labyrinth of more urgent issues faced the U. S. Government in the aftermath of the war. Domestically, switching industrial production from wartime to peacetime footing, and expanding employment opportunities to accommodate returning veterans topped the list. Internationally, President Truman demonstrated the primacy of political stability through economic recovery by the \$400 million appropriation to Greece and Turkey (March 1947) to stabilize the political situation in light of the British inability to continue to support the Greek government against the communist-led guerrillas, and the discussions over and eventual Congressional approval of the European Recovery Plan (April 1948).

Perhaps these efforts reflect the realization that America could not have conducted another war tactically or logistically in this timeframe. Scholars endorsing this position also argue that the Soviet Union was in no better a position to prosecute active conflict. So argues

⁶ William H. Baugh, *United States Foreign Policy Making: Process, Problems, and Prospect* (Fort Worth: Harcourt College Publishers, 2000).

Vojtech Mastny in *Russia's Road to the Cold War*.⁷ Mastny contends that Stalin based his foreign policy decisions and actions on Russia's historical and imperial traditions of seeking security as well as on Communist ideology – neither point advocating military offensive actions. Further, Melvyn P. Leffler supports Mastny's argument that "ideology did not dictate an offensive, expansionist, revolutionary foreign policy."⁸ Joseph L. Nogee and Robert H. Donaldson, *Soviet Foreign Policy since World War II*,⁹ repeat a quotation from Stalin to Djilas: "The war shall soon be over. We shall recover in fifteen or twenty years and then we'll have another go at it,"¹⁰ while arguing from the angle of foreign policy and rational actor behavior that:

Evidence suggests that Stalin had reason to expect that his actions in Eastern Europe would not be challenged by American arms, if only in Roosevelt's statement at Yalta that American troops would be withdrawn from Europe within two years after the war's end. . . . Certainly a leader who expected imminent armed conflict would not have taken steps to demobilize the largest portion of his own army; by Khrushchev's calculations the Soviet armed forces were reduced from a wartime peak of over 11 million to a level in 1948 of 2,874,000.¹¹

For Stalin, a united, neutral, demilitarized Germany under pro-Soviet influence would provide the Soviet Union a security blanket in the West. I contend that the intent of the Soviet blockade of Berlin, considerably cheaper than outright military actions, in June 1948, was to chase the British, French and American forces out of Berlin, opening the possibility for an eventual German vote for neutral unity.

⁷ Vojtech Mastny, *Russia's Road to the Cold War: Diplomacy, Warfare and the Politics of Communism, 1941-1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

⁸ Melvyn P. Leffler, "The Cold War: What Do We Now Know?" *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 2, (April 1999): 501-524. Also, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

⁹ Joseph L. Nogee and Robert H. Donaldson, *Soviet Foreign Policy Since World War II*, 2nd ed. (New York: Pergamon Press, 1986).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 77. Nogee and Donaldson cite Milovan Djilas, *Conversations with Stalin* (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1962), 115.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 77-78.

A stronger argument for continuing the military occupation in Germany suggests that the basic needs of the people in war-torn Europe, in accordance with international law and the terms of Germany's unconditional surrender, prompted the beginning of the long-term U. S. military presence in Europe, centered in Germany. The obligations under which the U. S. Army forces operated required the U. S. Army to supply not only the basic needs of the indigenous populations in its zone, but also those populations in both the British and French occupation zones, given the dire economic straits of the British and French at home. Moreover, the U. S. military force needed its logistics tail not only to support its own requirements in the U. S. occupation zone, but also – at least until August 1945 -- to redeploy excess servicemembers and equipment to the Pacific Theater to join the fight against the Japanese. Additionally, thousands of war-weary veterans awaited return to the United States to demobilize. Practical matters often interfered with desired shipping schedules – demand for ships outpaced supply, and until August 1945, the Pacific Theater had shipping priority. Furthermore, logisticians always have the clean-up detail, e.g., redeployment, sale or disposal of millions of tons of war material.

Several other considerations framed the early years of the occupation. First, no official timetable existed for ending the occupation except acceptance of a Peace Treaty by the Four Powers. The Council of Foreign Ministers, established by the Potsdam Protocol as successor to the European Advisory Committee failed to approve a Peace Treaty for Germany so the occupation dragged on until 1955 when West Germany regained sovereignty and membership in NATO. Second, the U. S. State Department should have been the logical choice to administer and manage the U. S. occupation, as it would after 1949 (to this day, the U. S. Ambassador remains the senior U. S. representative in country), but President Roosevelt designated the U. S. Army for this task. Regardless, the U. S. military forces represented the only standing

organization in the U. S. Government's arsenal with the resources to support such a mission. Third, President Truman's priorities in 1945 rested on bringing the war in the Pacific to a close and retooling American industry for a peacetime economy. At the same time, he needed to balance the economic requirements of retooling with closing out excess wartime production, reduced manpower requirements, employment for demobilized veterans, as well as infrastructure and housing needs created during the war, if not also dating back to the Depression. Last, perhaps not a critical point in 1945, but German occupation costs funded the housing and other costs associated with troops deployed in Germany, lessening the financial burden on the U. S. Government.

The U. S. Army's presence in Germany after the Nazi regime's capitulation in May 1945, required pursuit of two stated missions: (1) to secure German borders and (2) to establish an occupation government within the U. S. assigned occupation zone. Both missions required logistics support, an often unstated but implicit, ongoing, if not in fact, a third critical mission. The security mission, provided largely by the combat troops, declined gradually between 1945 and 1948, but grew again, first with the Berlin Blockade in 1948, and then with the onset of the Korean crisis in 1950. However, the other mission – the occupation mission, actually grew, first under the military government (1945-1949), and then during the Allied High Commission era, a civilian operation, which gradually phased out between 1952 and 1955. German membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1955 replaced occupation with stationing of foreign forces under NATO Status of Forces Agreements – a status in effect to this day. The build-up of U. S. Army infrastructure during the early occupation years has stood the U. S. Army in good stead throughout the ensuing years.

Regardless of the organization in charge during the ten occupation years -- the U. S. military government (1945-1949) or the Allied High Commission (1949-1955), U. S. military forces, predominantly the U. S. Army, continued to provide logistics support – the only U. S. Government agency possessing the ability and resources needed to support the American mission. It was also the only force structure available and capable of critical infrastructure repair within its occupation zone (see Chapter IV for the detailed discussion). Furthermore, U. S. Army logistics support underpinned not only the U. S. military occupation mission between 1945 and 1949, the U. S. presence on the Allied High Commission until its official retirement in 1955, but also the U. S. security forces on the ground throughout the entire period. How inclusive was this logistics support?

Logisticians across the spectrum and over time define logistics differently. Although known in the logistics business by such witticisms as, the tooth-to-tail ratio, or the tail wags the dog, in which the tail represents logistics, people outside the logistics field often enough do not grasp the broad range of logistics. As Admiral King stated to a naval staff officer in 1942, “I don’t know what the hell this ‘logistics’ is that [General] Marshall¹² is always talking about, but I want some of it.”¹³ Today, for example, the U. S. Army Materiel Command (U. S. Army’s most senior logistics command) asserts, “If a Soldier shoots it, drives it, flies it, wears it, communicates with it, or eats it, AMC [the Army Materiel Command] provides it.”¹⁴ However, looking back at World War II, logisticians organized differently. Known as the Services of Supply, the logistics field included not only today’s traditional loggies – quartermasters,

¹² General of the Army, George C. Marshall. At this time, GEN Marshall was Chief of Staff of the Army (1 Sep 39 to 18 Nov 45) and later, Secretary of State (2 years, 1947-1949), and Secretary of Defense (1 year, 1950-1951).

¹³ Admiral Ernest J. King was Commander in Chief of the U. S. Naval Fleet and Chief of Naval Operations during World War II. Quote site: accessed 24 Feb 2012, www.logisticsworld.com/logistics/quotations.htm.

¹⁴ Headquarters, Army Materiel Command Fact Sheet, accessed 25 Feb 2014, <http://www.amc.army.mil/amc/Fact%20sheets/HQAMCFactSheet.pdf>

ordnance (maintenance and ammunition), transportation – but also the medical corps, engineers, signal, chemical, military police and reinforcement personnel (administration and finance).

Martin van Creveld defines logistics as, “the practical art of moving armies and keeping them supplied.” He amplifies this definition by stating,

Before a commander can even start thinking of manoeuvring or giving battle, of marching this way and that, of penetrating, enveloping, encircling, of annihilating or wearing down, in short of putting into practice the whole rigmarole of strategy, he has – or ought – to make sure of his ability to supply his soldiers with those 3,000 calories a day without which they will very soon cease to be of any use as soldiers; that roads to carry them to the right place at the right time are available, and that movement along these roads will not be impeded by either a shortage or a superabundance of transport.¹⁵

John Lynn, another military historian, suggests that “Mars must be fed; the soldiers and sailors who practice his craft need food, clothing and equipment. All these must be produced, transported, and distributed to contending forces if they are to begin or continue the contest.”¹⁶ Obviously not just soldiers, but also airmen and sailors participate in these contests. As Lynn notes, governments mobilize societies – populations -- in various ways to support warfare through taxation, credit, rationing, and the retooling of certain industries. More importantly perhaps, Lynn’s observation that “the mobilization of resources for war has been a major factor in shaping the modern state,”¹⁷ gets one closer to understanding the enormity of the role logistics plays in war.

Lynn and van Creveld address logistics primarily in its support of the fight. However, wars do not just happen and armies are not outfitted and deployed overnight. Logistics also plays a key role in both the preparation for and the drawdown after the fighting. In the particular

¹⁵ Martin van Creveld, *Supplying War: Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 1.

¹⁶ John A. Lynn, ed., *Feeding Mars: Logistics in Western Warfare from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Boulder: Westview Press, Inc., 1993), vii.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, ix.

case of the occupation of post-World War II Germany, logistics arguably outweighed both the security and military government missions, acquiring a critical role in securing the peace as much of the war fighting force left Europe. Alone, the humanitarian crisis: the interim care, eventual repatriation or resettlement of Displaced Persons, the settlement of Expellees and refugees fleeing from the East, and the food and housing shortages of the indigenous German population, required support in the first years after the war. In addition to the often life-or-death humanitarian crisis, U. S. Army forces logistically supported execution of the Potsdam Protocol process, the redeployment of forces to finish the war in the Pacific, and, of course, the daily support of their own forces. It is worth noting that a significant number of Displaced Persons and Germans joined the U. S. Army forces as civilian employees, replacing soldiers either deployed to the Pacific Theater or returned to the United States. Logistics supported the security forces tasked to stabilize the war-torn country that lacked its own means to quell looting and anarchy. A major part of the stabilization process involved technical assistance in rebuilding critical German infrastructure and retraining German security forces to take over some of the peacekeeping aspects of post-war Germany. One might even argue that the sum of these missions provided a vivid, compelling yet provocative argument supporting capitalism and democracy rather than communism as the better system in which ordinary citizens can thrive. To defend this argument, a more expansive definition of logistics appears necessary.

For the purposes of this study, logistics includes:

the design, development, acquisition, storage, movement, distribution, maintenance, evacuation, and disposal of materiel; the movement, medical care, hospitalization and, as needed, medical evacuation of personnel; the acquisition or construction, maintenance, operation, and disposition of facilities; the acquisition of civilian labor; and the acquisition or furnishing of services, such as, baths,

laundry, libraries, and recreation. Since administration applies to the management of personnel, materiel, and services, it is intimately associated with logistics.¹⁸

This study posits that logistics, that often unstated yet tacit third mission, as defined earlier, developed not only into the strategy to win the Cold War in Europe, where little or no fighting took place, but logistics also stabilized German society immediately after hostilities, and over the course of the occupation, underpinned the shaping of post-war Western Germany.

Logistics matters indeed.

1. Objectives of this study.

The objectives in this study are threefold. First, demonstrate that U. S. Army logistics in the U. S. Zone of Occupation in Germany between 1945 and 1949 laid the foundation for the long-term presence of the U. S. Army in Germany. Second, analyze the rationale for the build-up of logistics during this period. Third, analyze the impact of U. S. Army soldiers, aspects of their logistics support mission, and family members on the German population.

A logical starting point for this exploration begins in June 1945 with General Dwight D. Eisenhower's "Proclamation to the German People." The period ends when the Office of Military Government, United States in Germany (OMGUS) transferred occupation government to John J. McCloy, the U. S. High Commissioner, and the combined western zones of Germany achieved semi-sovereign status in September 1949. Rapidly evolving circumstances in 1947 and 1948 resulted in a reexamination that ultimately changed U. S. foreign policy toward Europe in general and occupied Germany in particular. The rollout of the Marshall Plan in early 1948 and the Soviet Union's blockade of Berlin in June 1948 culminated a period of rising tensions.

The inability of the Allied Control Council (ACC), the ruling organ of military government for post-war Germany, to achieve the hallmark clause of the Potsdam Protocol –

¹⁸ U. S. Army Command and General Staff College, accessed 24 Feb 2012, <http://usacac.army.mil/CAC2/csi/docs/CombatStudiesInstitute-200804010032-DOC.doc-2006-09-13>.

establishment of economic and administrative unity within occupied Germany -- led ultimately to the currency reform of June 1948. Carrying out this reform, critical to halting inflation and setting Germany on the road to economic recovery, spearheaded by the Americans, violated the rule of consensus underlying ACC governance as both the Soviets and French (initially) objected. However, British and American economic strategists argued that the only way out of providing continuous financial and relief support to the Germans involved establishing a recognized currency within a central bank (a bank of issue) that would enable the Germans to export their products on a par with international prices, as well as manage international accounting.¹⁹ The French disagreed in principal with establishment of any centralized German governmental agency, but eventually acquiesced to the currency reform. The Soviet Union objected vehemently to a central currency reform, initiated the Berlin Blockade, and followed up with their currency reform in the Soviet occupation zone.²⁰

Following the implementation of trizonal currency reform and western responses to the Berlin Blockade, the establishment of a semi-sovereign federal German government occurred more rapidly than originally planned. A German Parliamentary Committee under supervision of representatives from the Office of Military Government United States in Germany (OMGUS)

¹⁹ Earl Ziemke provides an example of the German import/export imbalance for the fiscal year 1946: dollar-based import commitments for Germany amounted to \$242,285,000 against the total value of exports, \$7,277,000. *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, Government Printing Office, 1975), 434.

²⁰ The prospect of a central, German-wide currency reform under American control was anathema to the Soviets unless they could control printing and banking transactions in their zone (Leipzig). According to General Lucius Clay, while the British and French were willing to run this risk, General Clay, on behalf of the U. S. Government refused – for two reasons: first, early in the occupation, the U. S. gave the Soviets a second set of printing plates and the Soviets presumably printed an uncontrollable amount of currency. Soviet soldiers could not exchange the Allied currency for Soviet currency, but this Allied military currency could be exchanged for U. S. dollars. The U. S. Government paid dearly for this transaction once, in the early stages of the occupation. Second, the issue of a currency reform for occupied Germany presented several times to the ACC, failed to get a consensus vote. Finally, at the Council of Foreign Ministers in London, 1947, the three Western powers decided to move ahead with the reform, but the British and American military governors were asked by their respective governments to take the issue up one last time with the ACC. The issue was in deliberation at the ACC when the Soviet representatives walked out of the ACC sessions (March 1948).

organized in 1948 to draft a new German constitution (*Grundgesetz*, Basic Law), that came into effect on 23 May 1949. The military occupation ended unofficially with acceptance of the Basic Law and officially, with the transfer of authority from the Military Governor U. S. Army, to the High Commissioner, U. S. Department of State in September 1949 as the newly elected *Bundestag* and *Bundeskanzler* commenced governing the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG).

Finally, this massive long-term U. S. military footprint on German soil brought about lasting cultural exchanges between the U. S. and Germany, in ways not envisioned or anticipated at the war's end. It is therefore important to examine and analyze this cultural impact. I examine one aspect of the cultural impact through the lens of the Office of Military Government, United States (OMGUS), Education and Religious Affairs Division (ERAD) and to a lesser degree, the Information Control (ICD) Division. ERAD became the Education and Cultural Affairs Division by 1948. The Information Control Division replaced the wartime Psychological Warfare Division following V-E Day. Also in the 1947-1948 timeframe, the control aspect of both organizations shifted to cultural exchange with the German population, directed more toward both anti-communist propaganda, and programs intended to encourage movement toward democratic systems and policies in Germany.

To achieve the stated objectives, this study explores three questions. How did the U. S. War and State departments, and specifically the U. S. Army, as the dominant U. S. military service on the ground in Europe in 1945, define, develop and plan the occupation mission and plan for and execute the complex logistics support necessary to accommodate the U. S. military presence in Germany after World War II? Next, what events, national interests, alliances and policies underlay the deployment and continued stationing of U. S. military forces, and the subsequent logistics build-up to support these forces in post-World War II Germany? Finally, in

consideration of the first question and the overwhelming and long-running mission requiring U.S. military presence in West Germany, did the U. S. military logistics presence have a continuous and enduring impact on the German population?

2. Definitions.

Cultural transfer and cultural exchange. In this study, I employ a simple definition of the two terms. Cultural transfer refers to the movement of American ideas and institutional concepts from the American cultural milieu to the German cultural milieu. Cultural exchange refers to a reciprocal giving and receiving of ideas and institutional concepts between the two countries. Examination of World War II documents and primary sources from the occupation period indicate an official U. S. intent to culturally *transfer* American democracy – government, institutions and even the American way of life – to the Germans. Cultural transfer in this sense meant a one-way movement of ideas and practices, from America to Germany. Such a practice would not have been new as this practice, referred to as cultural exchange by an earlier Democratic White House, grew out of a belief in internationalism held, according to Emily S. Rosenberg, by a large number of Americans, most notably, President Woodrow Wilson. Emily Rosenberg posited:

Wilson believed that the progressive force of history, embodied in a League of Nations, would usher in a world order safe for the spread of American influence. He greatly extended the structure of the promotional state [literally and functionally, a state that promotes its beliefs, values and support to other states] but never allowed it to take over functions he saw as being proper to the private sector. Tightly bound by the canons of nineteenth-century liberalism, he declined to press for direct, large-scale governmental involvement in the postwar international economy.²¹

In contrast, President Roosevelt's White House, while favoring a similar ideology relative to U. S. economic expansionism and international collective security [the idea of the

²¹ Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 190.

United Nations], chose a more aggressive governmental role in the postwar world by attempting to create international political, economic and cultural institutions directly subject to government, and especially to the President.²² Additionally, for President Roosevelt and his administration, solving the German Problem the second time around took a more total and harsher tack, and involved considerably more than political or economic institutional changes -- quite different from World War I. Despite Germany's historical membership in Western civilization, White House officials considered few measures of cultural exchange between the U. S. and Germany before mid-1947.

The Roosevelt administration's rationale for postwar Germany stemmed from the belief that implanting democracy would break the vicious cycle of German militarism and authoritarianism responsible ostensibly for three wars between 1870 and 1939. This intent became practice at least for the first two years or so after the war ended. However, in many instances, this experiment in what must be termed cultural transfer, even cultural imperialism, failed. For example, the U. S. occupation government decreed that the German *Länder* governments adopt educational reforms under an American-oriented school structure.²³ German educators had acknowledged a need for reform of the traditional German education system during the Weimar Republic;²⁴ any such reform measures tossed to the wayside by the Nazi movement. While German educators had long accepted the process of school reform within the bounds of German educational tradition and culture, they would not accept the product of a uniquely American culture such as its school system.

²² Ibid.

²³ I provide a detailed discussion on American efforts toward, and German efforts against, effecting German school reform in Chapter V of this study.

²⁴ Numerous sources discuss the history of the German education system, e.g., a quick reading is found in Henry P. Pilgert, *The West German Educational System* (Bad Godesberg-Mehlem: Historical Division, Office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany, 1953), 1-9. Another more detailed reading: William Boyd and Edmund J. King, *The History of Western Education* (Lanham, MD: Barnes and Noble Books, 12th Ed., 1995), 307-312, 334-337, 458-462.

Over time, the victors' imperialistic cultural transfer changed into a give-and-take – a promotion of mutual understanding, a cultural exchange. This became most evident early in the occupation, by July 1947, when the “you will” of the first, harsher Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U. S. Forces of Occupation (JCS 1067) became “we will assist” of the second directive, JCS 1779.

Little America refers colloquially to the U. S. military installations and communities in Germany. Germans adopted the term, Little America, because these communities offered to authorized users many of the services and products available in typical American communities in the United States. Americans living within these installations need not leave the fenced-in *Kaserne* (garrison) for much – schools, shops, entertainment, sport facilities, and more – were usually available, invalidating, to some large degree, Donna Alvah's argument²⁵ that military families would serve as “unofficial ambassadors,” of the American way of life. Even in those cases where American families could not be housed in *Kasernen*, as was often the case initially, their housing areas consisted of confiscated apartment buildings and homes, wherein integration with German families was not encouraged.

3. Methodology and Historiography.

Scholars espousing the theoretical approach known as the New Historicism argue that “History isn't an orderly parade into a continually improving future . . . It's more like an improvised dance consisting of an infinite variety of steps, following any new route at any given moment, and having no particular goal or destination.”²⁶ Much of the early historical material written about the U. S. occupation in Germany presents a variety of steps, a tangled web, rather

²⁵ Donna Alvah, *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War, 1946-1965* (New York: New York University Press, 2007).

²⁶ Lois Tyson, *Critical Theory Today: A User-Friendly Guide* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006), 283-284.

than an orderly process marching stoically through time from planning through execution and finally to completion. By accepting the basic percept of New Historicism, that history is not an orderly parade into a continually improving future, the oft-vacillating points of view presented by researchers depicted the occupation era as confusing. How does New Historicism inspire this study?

Philosophically, new historicism asserts²⁷ that no single “mind of the age,” no master narrative, dominates – that history comprises multiple narratives – some more dominant than others at given points in history. These narratives reflect, perpetuate and/or challenge ideological, political, economic, cultural and/or social issues of a particular historical period. Because history is a story of the past narrated by and from the perspective and the multi-faceted discourses of historians, these stories are not totally objective. Likewise, the readers, researchers or viewers bring to the table their own perspectives that might differ substantially from that of a particular historian. Additionally, historians apply priorities, criteria and focus to their research, furthering the subjectivity of a given narrative.

A master narrative refers to events scripted in such a way that the script becomes the norm, the truth, the ethic, the moral, the definitive history. The dominant narrative reflected in many primary sources of the U. S. occupation in Germany suggested a campaign on the part of the Allies to eliminate finally the destructive seeds of German militarism and thus prevent another cataclysmic event like the world wars. However, could one not otherwise conclude after looking from the vantage point of several decades and various cultural negotiations occurring since the end of World War II, that the U. S. government after 1945 rode to a 20th century version of manifest destiny on the tanks, trains, planes and trucks of “spreading democracy” and saving the Germans from themselves? Conclusions drawn are, of course, subject to

²⁷ Ibid.

interpretation based on facts and opinions presented in a dominant narrative. However, how does a reader know what facts or questions researchers did not consider? This is where several and often different narratives play a critical role in understanding events and actions, and taken together, offer a better-rounded story. Put simply, the new historicist looks for a plurality of voices, a palette of colors, to paint a fuller picture of historical events. For instance, in this study, several contrasting narratives emerged:

- A hard or soft peace following unconditional surrender,
- Contrasting views between the U. S. War and State departments on execution of the occupation,
- Interpretation of the Potsdam Protocol 4Ds²⁸ within U. S. Government agencies as well as among the Allied Powers,
- Differing military strategies on how to conduct the war as well as how to prosecute the occupation, and even eventually,
- Ideologically between democracy and communism.

This exploration suggests the following narrative. First, U. S. occupation forces under the U. S. military government exercised the political power of the U. S. Government as well as the authority of the military hierarchy to influence German reconstruction and reeducation after German capitulation on 7 May 1945. The U. S. military government and its agent, the U. S. Army had the authority, the power and perhaps the knowledge to reeducate the Germans and reconstruct German infrastructure and society within their zone of occupation. However, this could not have been a one-way street. Power influences culture but is also influenced by culture. Power is not localized within one individual or institution; rather, power moves through a society

²⁸ Demilitarization, denazification, decartelization and democratization.

by means of exchanges. A new historicist might therefore ask who has the authority (power) to create knowledge or change traditions and culture within a society. Can that knowledge or change then be imposed on a society? How did that society react to such authority, what was the reaction, or the exchange?

Initially, the majority of Germans reacted to Allied demands with acquiescence and obedience. Over time, both the tone of the U. S. military occupation, from harsh to milder, and the German exchange to that authority, from acquiescence, to resistance or stalling for time, shifted, as in, for example, the U. S. military government's efforts to force its school reform program on the German community. Further, how might this knowledge in textual (or other) medium represent and/or perpetuate the dominant ideology of the imposing culture? The U. S. military government alternately propelled or persuaded acceptance of its ideology – capitalism, democracy and the supremacy of the American way of life -- through several mediums, e.g., military authority, political dominance, economic advantage and necessity, and a mix of cultural arrogance and humanitarian concern.

Second, the tenor and form of these narratives often collided with existing German cultural narratives. Nearly all Germans rejected the idea that a radically different cultural paradigm provided by any of the victors was required. Despite the wartime physical destruction, once Nazism was obliterated, Germany's dominant cultural precepts, revived and became instrumental in rebuilding the country after the war. After all, Germans had a long cultural history to draw on: common language, prolific world-acclaimed advances in various fields of science, philosophy, literature, music, religion and art. Regional folktales, traditions, and a sense of regional pride, as well as a German nationalism, or patriotism as Americans applied the term to their own nation, defined German culture. Additionally, the German education system,

heralded by many educators of the period as being one of the best in the world, boasted a 99% literacy rate at the end of the 19th century. What the Germans needed was security, time and economic support to rebuild their state and nation. By 1955, West Germany's resurgence, often through the resources of its occupier, then protector and (now) ally, the U. S. Government, allowed the Federal Republic of Germany to rejoin the civilized world as the front line of defense (and offense) in Europe against the Soviet Union and advancing communism. The ability of the U. S. Government to place and logistically support its military contingent in Europe and specifically in Germany underlies this achievement. So, yes, logistics does matter.

While a plethora of research covers the political and economic paths taken toward this achievement, little analysis of the U. S. Army's logistics effort in achieving this task is available. The role of post-World War II U. S. Army logistics in the cultural exchange between Americans and Germans has received even less consideration. Therefore, this study seeks to bring to light the role of logistics in not only the U. S. infrastructure build-up in post-war Germany, but the impact of that build-up on such discourse between Americans and Germans. To accomplish this objective, two criteria stand out: first, an analysis of multiple narratives comparing similarities and dissimilarities used in discussions and argumentation of the occupation period in question, and second, employment of several methodologies that will bring together a broader understanding of the subject.

A variety of resources forms the core of this study, weaving together a fuller tapestry while avoiding the reproduction of another master narrative. An enormous amount of literature about the U. S. military occupation exists. Because much of the early official U. S. documents and studies – many written by former employees in the occupation government machinery -- take on the specter of a dominant narrative, German media publications, literature and personal

accounts, dependent on availability, provide a more balanced and complete narrative. However, few sources examine the events from a perspective of the German political and cultural agendas or the potential ideological clashes between the American and German cultures. Unfortunately, because of early U. S. occupation censorship policies, as well as shortage of logistic resources, particularly print material and undamaged printing presses, most German critical accounts of the occupation period were written after the occupation. However, singular glimpses occasionally shone through, for example, *Der Ruf*,²⁹ shut down by the U. S. military government in 1947, presumably because it carried a generally leftist view that was not uncommon in occupied Germany, but nonetheless not tolerated by the military government.

Oral accounts and interviews detailing how Germans reacted to American attempts to democratize and reshape attitudes and values of the collective German public are likewise rare. Several oral interviews of a small group of Germans who lived through the Nazi period as adolescents and teenagers, preceded by a written questionnaire (see Appendix Introduction.3) that informed the basis of these interviews, were conducted for this study.³⁰

Documents critical to a study of post-World War II occupation of Germany include both the Yalta and Potsdam protocols, the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) Directive 1067 (1945), its successor, JCS Directive 1779 (1947), U. S. Secretary of State Byrne's 6 September 1946 speech in Stuttgart, Germany, and the *Petersberg Abkommen*, 22 November 1949. Additionally, official U. S. Congressional reports, Departments of War (after 1947, Department of Defense)

²⁹ Siegfried Mandel, *Group 47: the Reflected Intellect* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973). *Der Ruf*, edited by Curt Vinz, a German POW, was produced as a medium to reeducate German prisoners of war interned in the U. S. Upon his return to Germany, Vinz received a license to publish *Der Ruf* in the U. S. occupation zone (Munich), and with the efforts of Alfred Andersch, Hans Werner Richter and others, published the first German issue in August 1946. If a political philosophy underlay this publication and its editors, it would have been a belief in a united, neutral and socialistic Germany as a bridge between the East and West. The U. S. Military Government Information Control Division objected to this leaning, and cancelled the publication's license in April 1947.

³⁰ The Human Subjects Committee, University of Kansas Lawrence Campus approved this research project.

and State, and U. S. Army documents provide critical, albeit scanty logistics data. A particularly rich vein of materials, although sadly incomplete, the Office of Military Government records (OMGUS files), such as the Office of Military Government's (OMGUS) *Monthly Report of the Military Governor U. S. Zone*, or OMGUS staff files, offer the closest reading of regular contact between U. S. Military Government officials and their German counterparts. Through this medium, one obtains a glimpse of logistics support and efforts as well as German reaction to U. S. Military Government policy and presence. Additionally, U. S. Army occupation reports, for example, Headquarters U. S. Army Europe historian Oliver J. Frederickson's *American Military Occupation of Germany, 1945-1953*, the U. S. Forces European Theater's (USFET) *Weekly Information Bulletin*, and the High Commissioner bulletins, represent official U. S. occupation policy. Such reports also provide results of various military government programs aimed at supporting and reeducating Germans in the U. S. occupation zone between 1945 and 1949. Further, narratives by individuals employed in the U. S. military government, memoirs by key leaders, media and literature of the period, oral interviews, and questionnaires answered by Germans who were young adults at the end of World War II provide the study with thick descriptions adding to the discussion of the impact of U. S. Army logistics on occupied Germany.

Secondary sources played perhaps a greater role than material written during or shortly after the occupation for three important reasons. First, operational military information, often classified for a period after a mission closes, restricted access to critical information. Many of the sources available today were not available in the first years of the German occupation when the official documents and early source literature were written. Moreover, secondary source material often reflects more than the traditional linear or progressive paths often echoed in the

primary source documents. U. S. Army documents recording statistics on venereal disease in the U. S. occupation zone in Germany from the 1945-1946, for example, cite percentages of cases affecting U. S. soldiers. In contrast, Maria Höhn, writing decades later,³¹ accessed not only the official U. S. Government (and German) statistics, but also studied the impact of venereal disease on both the U. S. military community and the local communities. Her sources include both material now available in German archives, and oral interviews, both German and American, from individuals living in the communities during the occupation period. Finally, both archivists and researchers today often have the advantage of newer technology, such as computers, scanners, and internet access. This technology aids researchers by saving time and expense, but also allows archivists to reproduce research material in multiple forms for access to researchers. Further, improved technology provides a broader spread of ongoing and completed research for public consumption.

Therefore, the historiography to fulfill the first criterion, an analysis of multiple narratives comparing material used in argumentation, reflects factual early (primary) source material, oral interviews, and both factual and interpretive secondary source material that reflects cultural negotiations of individuals interacting with several narratives – dominant perspectives -- occurring in their culture during the occupation period.

The second criterion for this study involves examining U. S. Army logistics build-up in occupied Germany, 1945 to 1949, diachronically, chronologically, institutionally, geographically and culturally. Diachronically, the tenor of U.S. Government policy on the occupation of Germany changed from the planning stages in the middle of the war reflecting a somewhat

³¹ Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

liberal stance³² to the harsher Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U. S. Forces of Occupation (JCS 1067). The comparatively milder JCS Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U. S. Forces of Occupation (JCS 1779) replaced JCS 1067 in July 1947. Moreover, political events after 1945 altered the scenario immensely. The Nazi regime having been defeated, the Allies disengaged from the fight and pursued their own national interests increasingly after the war.

These policy and political developments tremendously affected the logistics program undertaken by the U. S. Army in Germany, for example, in 1945, neither the length of the occupation nor the end strength of occupation forces had been determined. How much and what kinds of logistics support would U. S. forces require, for how long? Billeting initially took two basic forms: tents, or requisitioned houses, hotels and other appropriate buildings. Many of the former *Wehrmacht* kasernes confiscated by occupation forces housed Displaced Persons (DPs) and until the DPs were repatriated, these facilities were not available. Moreover, the decision in 1945 to allow family members to join their spouses as early as April 1946 complicated logistics issues. Furthermore, the U. S. Congress consistently cut back on War Department budgets, reducing funds available for rebuilding, repair and even the necessary building material that, already scarce in Germany, had to be imported from the U. S. Eventually, occupation funds would cover some of the repair, but the actual new construction building would not begin in earnest for several years, and then a large part of the cost would be borne by the Germans.

Chronologically, the study embraces the U. S. occupation of Germany from 1945 to 1949, focusing on the sequential requirements of logistics planning and implementation during

³² For example, the *German Country Unit Handbook* and the *Post-Hostilities Handbook Governing Policy and Procedure for the Military Occupation of Western Germany and Norway Following the Surrender of Germany*.

the military occupation. Obviously, decisions made during this period affected the later stationing of U. S. Forces in Western Germany.

Institutionally the primary role in the execution of the United States' military occupation mission in Germany centered on the U. S. Army. Therefore, U. S. Army policies, organizations, military units and agencies figure centrally in this study. Militarily, the unit mission determines the unit's logistics infrastructure and the logistics resources it requires to perform its mission. The U. S. Army had two primary missions and thus two organizational structures in post-war Germany: one for the occupation government and the other for military security. Additionally, resources cost money. Therefore, the politics of funding among such institutions as the U. S. Congress, State and the War/Defense departments, as well as occupation costs levied on the Germans also played a key role in occupation policy.

Geographically, the U. S. occupation zone -- primarily the three *Länder* of Hessen, Württemberg-Baden, and Bayern, and the Enclave at Bremerhaven – and to a lesser degree, the U. S. sector in Berlin, represent the focus of this study. The two primary Lines of Communications (LOCs), one from west to east through France and the French occupation zone into Germany (the French LOC), and the other from north to south, Bremerhaven, through the British occupation zone to the U. S. zone, lie at the heart of U. S. Army logistics support to its occupation zone.

This study analyzes the impact of U. S. occupation policies on the German population through the lens of two U. S. occupation agencies: the Education and Religious Affairs Division/Education and Cultural Affairs Division (ERAD/ECAD) and the Information Control Division (ICD). Policies and actions of both organizations provide a lens for understanding how the U. S. Military Government's intent to transfer American culture altered over time into

cultural exchange. Finally, this study scrutinizes several cultural discourses from the period, especially the reality of U. S. Army logistics support as a medium of cultural exchange, the impact of attempted U.S. school reform on the German school system, and cultural exchange through several agencies and activities.

4. Organization by chapter.

Chapters I, II, and IV address the second question posited: What events, national interests, alliances and policies underlay the deployment and continued stationing of U. S. military forces and the subsequent logistics build-up to support these forces in post-World War II Germany?

Chapter I, Historic Roots of Germany's Post-War Economic and Logistics Challenges, briefly analyzes Germany's economic situation between 1870 and 1945 to determine what about this history so surprised the U. S. Government during the summer of 1945 when U. S. Army authorities on the ground in Germany realized they had an economic catastrophe on their hands. The biggest challenge facing the U. S. Army in Germany – a challenge that lasted at least two years – involved providing enough food to prevent starvation and chaos to the indigenous population, the Displaced Persons left in Germany at the end of the war, the refugees fleeing from the Baltics and the East, and the Expellees from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Further, Germany since joining the circle of industrialized states (mid- to late-19th century) relied on trade, exporting products to import raw resources and needed foodstuff shortages. This anomaly, the shortage of foodstuffs in Germany, caught public officials and agencies in Washington by surprise – as the inability of Germany to feed her own, based in historical fact, should have been known even before the war began.

Toni Pierenkemper and Richard Tilly, *The German Economy During the Nineteenth Century* (2004), and Gustav Stolper, *German Economy, 1870-1940* (1940, updated 1967) provide a readable basic understanding of the German economic situation during the 19th and 20th centuries. Pierenkemper and Tilly offer a brief and concise narrative on 19th Century German economic growth, setting the stage for Germany's turn towards the autarchic economies of both world wars. The authors argue convincingly that Germany, on the eve of World War I, had become one of the world's leading industrial economies.

Whereas Pierenkemper and Tilly focus on the 19th century, Gustav Stolper (1888-1947) both in his original version and the updated 1967 version by Karl Häuser and Knut Borchart, introduces the economic history of Germany from German unification in 1870 to 1940, one year after the European war began. He focuses on economic policy within the milieu of a state dominated first by a Prussian ruling class with its bureaucracy and the *Junker* agricultural elite. Stolper discusses several constants, primarily the dovetailed connection between State regulation of industry and the vertical integration of industry – cartelization; and secondarily, the necessity for Germany to produce industrially and engage in foreign trade to import the raw resources and foodstuffs required to feed its population. Gustav Stolper credibly and importantly argued that German industrialization not only provided exportable material to purchase raw resources for further production and food for the indigenous population, but also stoked the fires of European industrialization. Indeed, the cornerstone of European recovery after the war must lie with the recovery of German industrial production.

A third book by Alan Kramer, *The West German Economy, 1945-1955* (1991), bridges the gap between the beginning of World War II, where Gustav Stolper's text ends (1940), and the occupation period. The value of Kramer's work lies in its revalidation of Germany's pre-war

economic situation. In addition, Kramer questions traditional historiography on Germany's economic revival and reconstruction after World War II, which according to Kramer reflects continuity with Germany's past rather than a break brought about by change forced by the Allies during the occupation.

Chapter II, U. S. Strategic Planning for the Occupation Force in Germany, and Chapter III, U. S. Army Organization and Missions in Occupied Germany, examine the governmental agencies involved in planning and forming occupation policy, the policies produced, the organizations established to carry out these policies, and the missions given to these organizations. While Chapter II focuses on the planning processes and subsequent policies for the U. S. occupation zone in Germany, Chapter III focuses on the U. S. Army as the agent to carry out occupation policy. Official documents provide the starting point for a thorough understanding of the U. S. Army's role in the occupation.

The first section of Chapter II examines a possible planning model from the Allied Occupation after World War I that framed the development of a U. S Army Military Government handbook by Civilian Affairs trainees preparing for the aftermath of the World War II. The key sources for this section are U. S. Army Colonel I. L. Hunt, *American Military Government of Occupied Germany 1918-1920. Report of the Officer in Charge of Civil Affairs Third Army and American Forces in Germany* (1920) reprinted 1943 for planning purposes, and Henry T. Allen, *The Rhineland Occupation* (1927). The first report gets to the heart of the occupation – at the operational and unit level. The second text reports more at the senior command and political levels.

The second part of this section relies on the *U. S. Army Military Government Handbook* itself and the narratives of two Civil Affairs officers: Marshall Knappen, *And Call It Peace*

(1947), and Stanley Andrews, *The Journal of a Retread* (1971). Both Marshall Knappen and Stanley Andrews formed part of the initial corps of young academics and professionals trained at the University of Virginia and Stanford University respectively for Civil Affairs assignments with the U. S. Army. Knappen counts his service time and the Civil Affairs program as somewhat of a failure, while Stanley Andrews, writes an open, detailed account of his assignments from journals he kept as early as 7 December 1941. Both narratives provide valuable day-by-day accounts of not only the situation on the ground in the European Theater, but also non-military, every-day American accounts of their reactions to the military environment they worked in.

In chronological order and in taking this research back to the documents, Joint Chief of Staff Directive 1067 (1944), Potsdam Protocol (1945) and the Joint Staff Directive 1779 (1947) spell out the initial rules of engagement for the U. S. military government and occupation forces. Additionally, a United States Army Europe historical report by Oliver J. Frederiksen's *American Occupation of Germany 1945-1953* (1953), and Earl F. Ziemke's *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946* (1975) provide critical background narratives for any study on the U. S. occupation in Germany. Oliver Frederiksen, Historian for Headquarters U. S. Army Europe, compiled the first official account that focuses on the Army and Army operations during the occupation. Earl Ziemke's later text, particularly thorough on the establishment of the Civil Affairs organization and the occupation planning process in Washington and London during the war regrettably stops only two years into the occupation. Unfortunately, neither Frederiksen nor Ziemke delves in any depth into logistics issues facing the U. S. military government.

Additionally, a number of key players in military government have written extensively about their experiences in Germany and with military government – some highly critical, others

positive. Interestingly, several authors, for example, John Gimbel, *A German Community under American Occupation, Marburg, 1945-52* (1961) and *The American Occupation of Germany: Politics and the Military, 1945-1949* (1968), initially highly critical of U. S. Army efforts in Germany during the occupation, praise the policy aspects of the occupation. Likewise, Edward N. Peterson in *The American Occupation of Germany, Retreat to Victory* (1978) is highly critical of Military Government execution, but acknowledges in a later conference that perhaps some good came from the occupation.³³ Authors taking critical positions include W. Friedman, *The Allied Military Government of Germany* (1947), and Franklin M. Davis *Come As Conqueror* (1967). Carl J. Friedrich, editor, *American Experiences in Military Government in World War II* (1948) and Robert Wolfe, editor, *Americans as Proconsuls: U. S. Military Government in Germany and Japan, 1944-1952* (1984), give a more balanced approach to the problems and effectiveness in military government planning and execution. Both offer papers, and in the case of Wolfe's text, roundtable presentations and discussions on a variety of military government and occupation issues running the gamut from critique to praise. Equally important in achieving a balanced view of planning for, and the follow-on execution of the occupation, both Lucius D. Clay and Robert Murphy, the top two leaders in the military government in occupied Germany, in their published narratives of the occupation, *Decision in Germany* (1950) and *Diplomat Among Warriors* (1964) respectively, share their perspectives of being in the unique position to execute the results of the planning and policy outcomes. Lastly, Office of the Military Government United States in Germany (OMGUS) monthly and special reports offer a

³³ Edward Peterson's contribution, "The Occupation as Perceived by the Public, Scholars, and Policy Makers," 416-424, at the conference held in the Leonard Carmichael Auditorium at the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. May 20-21, 1977, captured in Robert Wolfe, ed., *Americans as Proconsuls: United States Military Government in Germany and Japan, 1944-1952* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984).

crucial primary source into not only Military Government operations across the spectrum of its responsibility, but also its involvement in Allied Control Council affairs.

Chapters III and IV address the first question: “How did the U. S. War and State departments, and specifically the U. S. Army, as the dominant U. S. military service on the ground in Europe in 1945, define, develop and plan the occupation mission, and plan for and execute the complex logistics support necessary to accommodate the U. S. military presence in Germany after World War II?

Chapter IV, Support the Military Force, the Displaced Persons and Family concentrates on logistics support to the military forces, the support to local populations, and the additional logistical support necessary for family members who started arriving in Germany in April 1946. The measures taken and detailed in this chapter suggests the foundation of the Little Americas – the build-up of the U. S. Army (and Air Force officially, after 1947) infrastructure in Germany. Once made, the decision to provide service members an environment resembling home complete with families, turned Germany into a second home to millions of Americans for the next forty-five years or so.

Data published by the Office of Chief Historian, U. S. Army Headquarters Europe form the core of Chapter IV. The annual and special reports, particularly *Domestic Economy* (1947), and *Physical Plant – its Procurement, Construction and Maintenance* (1947) offer surprising insight into logistics efforts of the U. S. Army in the U. S. occupation zone. James A. Huston, *Outposts and Allies: U. S. Army Logistics in the Cold War, 1945-1953* (1988), the penultimate historian of U. S. Army logistics, presents a compelling argument for the connections between logistics, military strategy and thereby U. S. diplomacy and foreign policy. While Huston’s critics comment on the lack of current archival evidence from the National Archives system, his

voluminous sources from the immediate post-war period complement this research project. Of singular importance, his discussion of Lines of Communications (LOCs) supplies much needed clarification on a subject planners too often ignore to their peril. President Roosevelt certainly recognized the importance of LOCs when he argued (and lost) for the northwest corner of Germany to be the U. S. occupation zone.

Finally, the U. S. National Archives system (Presidents Eisenhower and Truman libraries) provided access to USFET and OMGUS reports. The *Hauptstaatsarchiv* and *Stadtarchiv* in Stuttgart, the *Hessisches Staatsarchiv* and *Stadtarchiv* Marburg, and the *Bundesarchiv* in Koblenz contributed valuable detail on U. S. Military Government activities in their zonal sectors. Lastly, the U. S. Army Logistics University Library at Fort Lee provided the initial log data and information that set this research on its way.

Chapter V, Logistics: the Bridge to Cultural Exchange, or Bratwurst vs. Burger, addresses the final question presented earlier in this Introduction: “What impact did the U. S. military logistics presence have on the German population?” This chapter considers how U. S. occupation forces interacted with the German population, in selective venues, during the first four years of occupation, 1945 to 1949. Official German primary source archival documents proved especially critical in discussing cultural exchange between the U. S. occupation government agencies and their German *Länder* counterparts. Specifically, the documents and commentary from both the *Baden-Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv* in Stuttgart, and the *Hessisches Staatsarchiv* in Marburg, along with the Office of Military Government United States-Germany (OMGUS) files, provide the basis for the specific discussion on German school reforms during the occupation period. Additional avenues of cultural exchange, supported initially by U. S Army forces in the U. S. occupation zone come under scrutiny.

The final section of this study, Conclusions: We are In Country for the Long Haul, summarizes the impact of logistics and cultural exchange between West Germans and U. S. Forces, reiterating the critical role logistics played in post-World War II occupied Germany.

Chapter I. Historic Roots of Germany's Post-War Economic and Logistics Challenges

Introduction.

The story of the U. S. Army logistics and infrastructure build-up in post-World War II Germany begins officially with the U. S. entry into World War II. Subsequent military operations and the effects of those military operations amplified the logistics and infrastructure build-up. However, the economic challenges that Germany faced historically provide insight into the problems confronted by Allied forces during the occupation period, 1945-1955.

International Law, The Hague Convention, Article 43 and U. S. Army Field Manual 27-10, *Rules of Land Warfare* stipulated that a Commander occupying belligerent territory “shall take all measures in his power to restore, and insure, as far as possible, public order and safety, while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the laws in force in the country.”³⁴ Restoring and insuring safety, or as it came to be known to World War II planners as the “disease and unrest” clause, called on commanders to avert to the best of their abilities, disease epidemics and starvation among the populations in occupied territory. The U. S. Army discovered relatively early in the occupation that feeding the population within its occupation zone required longer-term assistance than initially programmed. As the food crisis eased, political events presented further justification for a longer occupation. Therefore, briefly reviewing Germany's economic history provides background for the logistics difficulties facing the U. S. Government in development of its occupation policy and the U. S. Army in execution of that policy in Germany during the occupation period.

³⁴ “Laws and Customs of War on Land (Hague II), July 29, 1899,” Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, The Avalon Project, accessed 18 Nov 2013, avalon.law.yale.edu/19thcentury/hague02.asp#art43. *U. S. Army Field Manual 27-10, Rules of Land Warfare, 1 October 1940*, (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1947), para. 282.

1. Challenge: Exposing the Roots of Germany's Economic Situation.

The principal question the occupying authorities faced was whether the Germans could provide enough agricultural products to feed the indigenous population as well as the refugees, expellees and Displaced Persons remaining in the U. S. occupation zone (and in reality the British and French zones, given their inability or reluctance to provide necessary support after capitulation).

The geographic region known as “Germany” following unification moved rapidly if belatedly toward industrialization in the nineteenth century, experiencing the characteristic changes of its near neighbors, Britain and France: the move from rural and agricultural toward urban and industrial. Agriculture survived, it was even protected by the Second German Reich (*Kaiserreich*); however, neither the *Kaiserreich* nor its successor regimes could feed its population from internal sources. The blockade during and shortly after World War I should have taught the Allies this lesson.

Considering this historical narrative, it would seem surprising that any American official could have seriously put forth a concept such as “pastoralization of Germany,” the brainchild of Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., as the solution to tame a militarist Germany after World War II. Yet this plan took center stage at the Second Quebec Conference, September 1944, between President Franklin Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Dividing Germany and reducing these entities effectively to an agrarian economy would not only deny recovery to the European continent that depended on Germany for resources (e.g., coal) and industrial products, but also commit the United States and perhaps the Allies to decades-long logistics support to prevent mass starvation and to keep a pastoralized Germany afloat.

The Quebec conferees soon backed away from the so-called Morgenthau Plan. Indeed, the following July, the authors and signatories of the Potsdam Protocol, officially recognized this dilemma. The key objective in the Protocol aimed at economic unity and resumption of industrial production, with restrictions, within Germany, recognizing the significance of German resources to the recovery of Europe. Unfortunately, economic unity was to remain elusive throughout the occupation.

The zones of occupation did not have adequate foodstuffs for the German population, nor for the Displaced Persons, refugees or expellees. The U. S. Government, and its occupation agent, the U. S. Army, incorporated the Hague Convention Article 43, as mentioned above, into the Joint Chiefs of Staff Directive 1067 (for which planning began in the summer of 1944), Part I, paragraph 5:

As a member of the Control Council and as zone commander, you will be guided by the principle that controls upon the Germany economy may be imposed to the extent that such controls may be necessary to achieve the objectives enumerated in paragraph 4 above and also as they may be essential to protect the safety and meet the needs of the occupying forces and assure the production and maintenance of goods and services required to prevent starvation or such disease and unrest as would endanger these forces.³⁵

A starving population does not bode well for good public order and safety. International law and necessity thus represented the cornerstone for the build-up of U. S. Army logistics and infrastructure in Germany after World War II. International political events, for example, the Greek civil war, the establishment of communist governments in several East European countries, and the Berlin Blockade, intruded after 1947.

³⁵ U. S. Department of State, *Germany 1947-1949: The Story in Documents* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1950), 23.

1.1 Historic Reliance on Foreign Trade.

Although Gustav Stolper and other economic historians agree that Germany's economic stage, on the eve of its unification in 1871, reflected a predominantly agricultural character, they also point out that rapid industrial expansion took place simultaneously. Perhaps a key difference between Britain and Germany at this point in history, Chancellor Bismarck took steps to protect German agriculture from, for example, American inroads in the grain export industry. Even though grain and potato production increased rapidly between 1871 and World War I, population growth outdistanced the agricultural gains, even considering emigration losses up to 1890.

Toni Pierenkemper and Richard Tilly, using studies by Knut Borchardt that examined numbers of personnel employed in each sector of the economy between 1849 and 1913, suggest that one sees a decline in employment in the primary sector of agriculture, forestry, fishing and domestic services. Concurrently, they also note an uptick in employment in commerce, banking, insurance, inns and restaurants, communications and transport, mining and salt works – all indicators of a rise in industrial activities.

Despite mechanization of agriculture, an established program under Bismarck, the rural sector continued to lose population to the urban areas, a common trend among industrializing societies. This movement of workers away from agriculture into industrial and commercial employment occurred steadily between 1882 and 1939. The employed population grew from 17 million in 1882 to 35.7 million by 1939. Those employed in agriculture and forestry declined from 42.4% in 1882 to 25% by 1939. In contrast, those employed in industry and crafts rose from 35.6% to 40.8% and in commerce and communications from 22.2% to 34.2% in the same

timeframe.³⁶ Such a growth trend tracks with most states undergoing the move from agriculture to industry, and movement of populations from rural to urban centers in the nineteenth century.

Supporting this observation, Pierenkemper and Tilly, citing studies by Walther G. Hoffmann, illustrate a similar trend, by tracking the composition of investment, using 1913 prices.³⁷ Investment in the Agriculture Sector (buildings, machinery, livestock and inventory) fell from 21.2% in 1851-1855 to 9.8% by 1906-1910. In contrast, within this timeframe, investment in the Industrial Sector (buildings, machinery and inventory) rose from 16.1% to 41.7%. Industrialization in the late nineteenth century, and up to World War II, provided the exchange mechanism – export products – with which to import the necessary foodstuffs and resources to fuel further industrialization and manufacturing. Analyzing the Pierenkemper and Tilly data, between 1872 and 1913, with the exception of 1880, total imports exceeded total exports, measured in billions of dollars.³⁸

The international economic crisis of 1857 and the crash of 1873-1874, as well as aggressive exportation of American products on the international market, particularly grain, steel and iron, pushed both German industrialists and agriculturists to clamor for protection. The German government responded with tariffs on imports, although not all players favored moving in this direction. Thus, the German economy and particularly trade moved from its earlier liberal tendencies toward protectionism.

Cartels, an oligopolistic-type organization in which providers of a service or product form an arrangement to coordinate, more often, to control, production, prices and sales venues of

³⁶ See Chapter I, Appendix, Chart 1. Gustav Stolper, Karl Häuser and Knut Borchardt, *The German Economy 1870 to the Present*, trans. Toni Stolper (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967), 23.

³⁷ See Chapter I, Appendix, Chart 3.

Toni Pierenkemper and Richard Tilly, *The German Economy during the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), 21.

³⁸ Gustav Stolper, Karl Häuser and Knut Borchardt, *The German Economy 1870 to the Present*, trans. Toni Stolper (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967), 30. I have combined two charts, in which Gustav Stolper cited his source as the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1880-1915, pages 82, 181.

their services or products, burst forth in Germany in the late nineteenth century. Bank mergers accelerated industrial consolidation by concentrating bank business within an industry or branches within an industry, leading often to establishment of monopolies – a cartel by another name. Cartel agreements enjoyed a legal status in Germany equal to any other type of private contract, surviving through World War II, to become a specific target of the Allied reorientation program for German industry after World War II. Two examples from this period stand out. The Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate (*Rheinisch-Westfälisches Kohlensyndikat*, RWKS, 1893-1945), with an initial membership of over ninety members, carried up to 90% share of the Ruhr district coal output, and about 50% of the national coal output prior to World War I.³⁹ The Steelmakers Association (*Stahlwerksverband*, 1904-1939), initially with thirty-one member companies, held an approximate 90% share of total German steel production.⁴⁰ The RWKS included in addition to coal mining companies, also iron and steel producers, while the *Stahlwerksverband* included not only steel works, but also coalmines, coke works and blast furnaces. This quasi-nationalization of the coal and steel industries certainly aided the *Kaiserreich* and later the Third Reich in organization for wartime production.

Nationalization of certain resources, protectionism in trade, growing cartelization in banking and key industries, and finally the threat of a British blockade combined to create an economic situation approaching autarchy in Germany on the eve of World War I. By 1914, the *Kaiserreich* had already nationalized a fair portion of rail transportation resources and public utilities, although total nationalization of the rail system, *Reichsbahn*, did not take place until 1919. According to Gustav Stolper, by the eve of World War I, the following services came under the aegis of the state: postal, telegraph, and most railroad systems; while gasworks,

³⁹ Thorsten Lübbes, *Is Cartelisation Profitable? A Case Study of the Rhenish Westphalian Coal Syndicate, 1893-1913* (Bonn, GE: Max Planck Institute for Research on Collective Goods, 2009), 6-7.

⁴⁰ Francis Walker, "The German Steel Syndicate," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 20, no. 3 (May 1906): 373.

waterworks, local transportation systems, power production, and even the forestry industry fell under the jurisdiction and regulation of municipal authorities or a few “mixed-ownership” companies (combined industrial and municipal authorities)

Finally, the threat of a British-initiated sea blockade of Germany became a reality in August 1914, essentially closing off most imported resources, particularly metals, rubber, oil, nitrate and other raw materials indispensable for armament production, fertilizers, as well as foodstuff and fodder required for military and civilian populations. Even before the war, Germany produced only approximately two-thirds of its food and fodder requirements. While Germany could rely for a short period on suppliers from the East, e.g., grain from Ukraine (after 1915) or oil from Romania, and her own reserves, eventually these supplies dwindled. Furthermore, agricultural production declined because the labor source dwindled as the *Reichswehr* called up more men and horses. The situation in Germany after World War II was even bleaker.

Whereas during World War II, Germany occupied considerable territory outside its borders, and could acquire more resources externally to boost production and feed its population than during World War I, the post-World War II situation was grimmer. To begin with, Germany suffered massive, countrywide destruction during World War II; little occurred during World War I. Following the war, in accordance with the Potsdam Protocol and earlier agreements among the Big Three, Germany’s borders were reduced from that of 1937, but its population increased drastically with the influx of refugees requiring food and shelter. While Germany lost some territory after World War I, it did not suffer a mass influx of refugees. Further, Germany had a working federal government and governmental administration down to the municipal level in place and functioning throughout the non-occupied areas of Germany after

World War I and the Allied occupiers relied on local German officials in every-day transactions throughout the occupation period. The German government after capitulation in May 1945 collapsed. What German officials remained in positions, primarily at the local community levels, reflected a minority that at least the American occupiers drastically reduced even further through their denazification process. The Four Powers recreated and later supervised indigenous governments in their assigned zones in Germany after World War II. The Potsdam Protocol championed German deindustrialization resulting in loss of not only war making industry, but also industry necessary for basic survival of the Germany population. To conclude, the two world wars are marked with more differences than similarities. Nonetheless, one common thread ran through both wars and their aftermath – the inability of Germany to self-sustain economically.

While the impetus for nationalization, protectionism, and industrial cartelization had not rested on establishing a war-ready logistics system, national control over particularly the transportation system and cartelizing key industrial assets allowed for some streamlining of production, as well as rationalizing and expediting resources key to fighting the war.⁴¹ Nonetheless, most critics argue that even with emergency measures in place, for example, Walter Rathenau's *Kriegsgesellschaften*, or the *Hindenburg Programm*,⁴² the *Kaiserreich* never adequately prepared logistically for a long-term war. Indeed, the *Kaiserreich* had not anticipated a war longer than a few months. The blockade proved to be the 'straw that broke the camel's

⁴¹ Stolper, Häuser, Borchardt, *The German Economy 1870 to the Present*, 38-53.

⁴² The *Kriegsgesellschaft (en)*, formed during World War I, was Walter Rathenau's concept that in many ways resembled the joint-ownership cartels of the late 19th century, with the major exception that these war companies administered militarily important raw materials under joint operation by the government and owners, producers and processors of the raw material. Gustav Stolper (*The German Economy 1870 to the Present*, 66-67) opines that this concept formed the basis for Weimar and Third Reich state economic agencies, developed along non-bureaucratic lines to create the link between public (governmental) and private business management. The intent of the *Hindenburg-Programm*, effective 31 August 1916, was to counter the war losses of personnel and equipment with implementation of a program that would double and more the production of munitions, mines and weapon systems lost in the war primarily by mobilizing the work force and closing down non-war producing factories.

back.’ Without the ability to export goods from its industrial production, Germany could not import shortage foodstuffs to support itself – a pattern repeated again within a few decades.

World War I and the blockade led to desperate hunger in many urban centers in Central European countries and, specifically, Germany’s urban population. According to Jens Flemming, between August 1914, and July 1917, the blockade had contributed close to a 50% reduction in general food supplies and over 80% reduction in protein foods for the German population.⁴³ Further, N. P. Howard provides more specificity from a report compiled by Petr Struve: an annual loss of approximately 4 million tons of imported cattle feed concentrates and a reduction from pre-war grain harvests of 21 million tons to 12 million tons by 1918.⁴⁴ The reduction in cattle feed concentrates translated into reduced meat and fats, for example: 12% of the peacetime diet of meat, 7% of fats, 28% of butter, and 15% of cheese. Of the reduced 12 million tons from grain harvests, bread rations reached only 48% of the pre-war level and for the 67% of the 60 million or so Germans living in urban areas, only 33% of the 12 million tons reached their tables.⁴⁵

The availability of food did not improve much after the Armistice, for the Allies continued the blockade until after the Versailles Treaty was signed in July 1919. Moreover, armistice and treaty provisions resulted in the loss of much of 13.1% of Germany’s pre-war territory, a large chunk of its merchant marine, 25% of its fishing fleet, 40% of its river and lake fleets, and a sizeable amount of transportation assets, e.g., 5,000 locomotives, 150,000 rail cars and 5,000 motor trucks.⁴⁶ Losing Alsace-Lorraine and half of Silesia resulted not only in the loss

⁴³ Jens Flemming, *Landwirtschaftliche Interessen und Demokratie* (Bonn, GE: Verlag Neue Gesellschaft, 1978), 87.

⁴⁴ N. P. Howard, “The Social and Political Consequences of the Allied Food Blockade of Germany, 1918-1919,” *German History* 11, no. 2 (April 1993): 163. Howard quotes from Petr Struve, “The Exhaustion of Germany’s Food and Fodder Supply.” (Petrograd, 1917), 11.

⁴⁵ Jens Flemming, *Landwirtschaftliche Interessen und Demokratie*, 87.

⁴⁶ Stolper, Häuser and Borchardt, *The German Economy 1870 to the Present*, 75.

of much of the connecting transportation links running east-west, but also agricultural and mineral resources that had previously supported Germany either through food production internally or industrial production for export. Losing much of the merchant marine fleet not only limited German exports, but also deprived the nation of foreign exchange received from countries using German merchant marine assets. The Treaty of Versailles provided an initial list of reparations; further conferences and resolutions provided specifics as well as payment plans and even reparation reductions. Even after receiving credit from the United States through implementation of the Dawes Plan in 1924, while Germany began to recover industrially, returning to its pre-war levels of production, Germany nonetheless never achieved a level of agricultural production capable of providing for its indigenous population.

In sum, between the two wars, Germany remained dependent on importing foodstuffs and industrial raw resources from outside sources to feed its population and produce finished industrial products for export. Additionally, reparation payments, even after payment reductions, gouged a sizeable amount from Germany's available income.

1.2 A Choice: Again, *Kanonen statt Butter*? Germany's Four-Year Plans.

Germany did not need to reorganize its economy from a peacetime to a wartime status in September, 1939, as economic mobilization began with the second Four-Year Plan (1936 – 1940), or arguably, with the First Four-Year Plan (1933-1936). The first Four Year Plan, 1933-1936, focused on job creation, reorganization of the agricultural sector and rearmament. Rearmament, however, while putting people to work, recreated the old conundrum. By focusing on rearmament production – taking away raw materials and resources otherwise required for exportable products – the country reduced its available exports that in turn reduced the financial exchange necessary to import required materials and foodstuffs.

The second Four-Year Plan, announced by Hitler at the Nürnberg *Reichsparteitag* in 1936, aimed to make Germany as economically independent as possible from the outside world. The basic objective of the second Four-Year Plan focused on establishing a unified and centralized economic system that, through a controlled investment program, would produce the industrial base necessary to support wartime armaments production. A secondary objective centered on preparing the population to support a war effort through reduction in consumer products as necessary, while a tertiary objective aimed at incorporating economic resources from states brought under German influence, and later occupied, to support German rearmament and agricultural production.

Even before World War II began, as early as 1936, Germany imported approximately 4,725,000 metric tons of foodstuffs. Imports included substantial amounts of grain, meat, dairy products, fruits and vegetables – all basic food items. The Hesse-Württemberg-Bavaria region, eventually the U. S. occupation zone, historically less self-sufficient than other regions in Germany, fell as much as 25 percent short of meeting its food requirements from its own production. In 1936, for example, the region claimed about one-half of all imports for Germany. “Its imports included almost as much grain as the total for Germany, more potatoes than the total for Germany, and substantial amounts of meat, fats, sugar, fruits and vegetables and other commodities,” concluded a U. S. Army G-5 division study.⁴⁷ “After 1936, rationing and state-controlled prices played a grueling role, and the consumer had to get used to the rationing of scarce foods [already] one year before the war.”⁴⁸

⁴⁷ U. S. Forces European Theater, Assistant Chief of Staff G-5 Division, Reports and Information Branch “What the Germans Will Eat This Winter,” *Military Government Weekly Information Bulletin*, no. 5 (Frankfurt, 25 August 1945): 4-5.

⁴⁸ Stolper, Häuser and Borchardt, *The German Economy 1870 to the Present*, 159.

Nazi Germany never achieved economic independence. Domestic sources could only assure approximately 80% of the minimum needs in food supplies. Germany procured supplies of grain for bread, several other foodstuffs, and oil from the resources of the Balkan states. Romania, with its grain surplus and its oilfields, ranked especially high in German calculations. The German government stockpiled grain and some of the scarce materials to safeguard against surprises at least for a few months until the centralized German government agencies attained the elusive self-sufficiency Hitler hoped to achieve through forcible expansion of the German *Lebensraum*.

Likewise, raw industrial material requirements of Hitler's Germany still largely depended on importation: e.g., all oil, most fuels, iron ore and nonferrous metals such as copper, nickel, manganese, chrome, wolfram, zinc, as well as fibers, and leather. As the war began in 1939, Germany still imported 70% of the iron ore, 80% of the copper, 65% of petroleum and rubber, 50% of fibers, 45% of hides and pelts, and nearly 100% of manganese, nickel, wolfram and chrome. Germany did embark on a program to develop substitute (*Ersatz*) material, e.g., the production in quantity of synthetic rubber; domestic production after 1942 met the minimum rubber requirements.⁴⁹

The *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, while considering the two Four-Year Plans, noted that available data indicated a 25% higher total production in 1938, compared to 1928, using 1928 as the base year. Broken down into production goods and consumption goods, the percentage increases dropped for both categories until 1936, then rose to a 44% and 16% increase respectively. At the same time, however, the population increased approximately 7% --

⁴⁹ Ibid., Chapter IV, 73-124.

from 64.5 million to 68.4 million.⁵⁰ If rearmament represented the majority of production goods, unless Germany manufactured rearmament items for export, clearly the increase in consumption goods, offset by the population increase, that is, 16% increase domestically for consumption goods spread out over a 7% larger population group, could not make up for the historic need to import consumer goods, particularly foodstuffs. Obviously, Hitler and the German Government never reached self-sufficiency before the war – nor during the war.

1.3 *Kriegswirtschaft*: Feeding Mars to Fight the War.

Alan Kramer noted that the strategic bombing campaign incurring the most industrial damage between the late 1943 and early 1945 had not permanently reduced productive capacity of German industry. “In fact, gross fixed capital (the value of durable goods used in production – mainly machinery, buildings and vehicles) was at least 20 percent higher in May 1945 than it had been in 1936. This astonishing expansion can only be understood if we take a look at the development of the German war economy.”⁵¹ In that process, one must differentiate between reaching full economic mobilization and full or near full production capacity, as that appears to have been the pattern for the *Kriegswirtschaft* in Nazi Germany.

Both Alan Kramer and R. J. Overy⁵² argue strongly that reaching near full economic mobilization did occur, but earlier than the popular view, that such mobilization had not occurred until 1943-44. Moreover, economic mobilization came at a cost between 1939 and 1941, but again, not the traditional “guns over butter” production, rather, through centralization and rationalization of production. Furthermore, both Kramer and Overy argue convincingly that full economic mobilization *did not* come totally at the expense of consumer goods production.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 141-142. Statistics from the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich 1941-42* (Berlin 1939) and *Statistik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Stuttgart, 1958).

⁵¹ Alan Kramer, *The West German Economy, 1945-1955* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, Limited, 1991), 17.

⁵² R. J. Overy, “Mobilization for Total War in Germany 1939-1941,” *The English Historical Review* 103, no 408 (July 1988): 613-639.

Consumer goods produced remained at about the same level in 1939-1941 as in 1938. “The supply of food to the German civilian population was almost at the prewar level until the last year of the war, and was far higher than in any of the countries of occupied Europe or in the other Axis countries.”⁵³

Undeniably, the German government imposed rationing of consumer products to varying degrees at different times, but the government chose the taxation tool initially to curb consumer spending, while at the same time, increasing funds available for the armaments industry through increased consumer savings and government loans. As Overy noted, the government resorted to direct taxation – income, corporation and luxury taxes -- that increased the total tax burden from 17.7 billion RM (*Reichmarks*) in 1938 to 32.3 billion RM by 1941.⁵⁴ Additionally, using statistics from the *Deutsche Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung*,⁵⁵ Overy extrapolates consumption levels for the period 1938-1941, suggesting that levels of per capita food consumption dropped 22 percent, “with sharp increases in potato and vegetable consumption and sharp falls in the consumption of meat, fish, eggs, cheese, milk and fats.”⁵⁶ Further, while the government intentionally monitored food consumption to maintain a basic minimum of food for all citizens “to reduce political risks,”⁵⁷ the rationale for strict and universal rationing focused more on a lesson learned from World War I – avoid the severe black marketing that transpired during that war and the infamous *Steckrübenwinter* of 1916-1917.

Another lesson learned from World War I by the German armed forces: that the economic system needed to prepare for the next war with adequate resources, infrastructure

⁵³ Kramer, *The West German Economy, 1945-1955*, 20.

⁵⁴ Overy, “Mobilization for Total War in Germany 1939-1941,” 618.

⁵⁵ *Deutsche Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung*, “Die deutsche Industrieproduktion im Kriege und Ihre Messung,” IWM FD 5454b/45. 9.

⁵⁶ R. J. Overy, “Mobilization for Total War in Germany 1939-1941,” 619.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

capacity and preferably an armed forces economic administrative organization. However, in the early years of World War II, the appropriate execution of production under armed forces management went awry. Overy notes that even though the economic system reached near full economic mobilization by the summer of 1941, and in spite of all the transfers of resources towards increasing armaments production, the total production capacity and therefore output did not expand accordingly.

By July 1941, *Reichskanzler* Adolf Hitler intervened, after receiving a pessimistic economic assessment from General Georg Thomas, *Chef des Wehrwirtschafts- und Rüstungsamtes Oberkommando der Wehrmacht* (Chief, German Armed Forces Economic Staff), “that the economy was completely overloaded with demands from the armed forces.”⁵⁸ The myriad of problems, the most serious, lack of civilian industry leadership and management, as well as competing interests among the armed forces and the absence of targeted planning guidelines for the war economy by the armed forces slowed production gains. Further, bottlenecks within the production process, and transportation and energy shortages, led Hitler, after several months of preparation, to decree an economic strategy of efficiency and rationalization. The essential concepts of this strategy targeted productivity: “how to get more weapons out of an economy already close to full mobilization.”⁵⁹ *Reichskanzler* Hitler’s answer, in his *Führerbefehl*, 21 March 1942, “The greatest output is to be achieved with the smallest expenditure of resources.”⁶⁰ The most productive effort leaned toward mass production rather than the traditional and more time-consuming skilled labor. Further, Hitler put considerably more responsibility for the wartime economy back into the hands of the industrialists and

⁵⁸ Ibid., 613. Overy cites this discussion having taken place between General Thomas and Field Marshal Keitel on 6 July 1941. The document is available in the Speer Collection, Imperial War Museum London, FD 5450/45.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 633.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 633. Overy cites the *Führerbefehl*, 21.3.42, NA T83 Roll76, frame 3447503.

technical officials, at the expense of the armed forces officials. Hitler appointed to the key wartime economy positions, for example, Albert Speer as the *Reichsminister für Bewaffnung und Munition* (Minister of Armaments and War Production), Ernst Friedrich Sauckel as the *Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz* (General Plenipotentiary for Labor Deployment) and Erhard Milch as the *Generalluftzeugmeister für Luftrüstungsproduktion* (Minister for Aircraft Production). Production capacity did improve after 1942, peaking in 1944. Streamlining and rationalizing the war economy no doubt played a key role in this achievement, however, labor utilization and acquisition of labor and raw materials from occupied Europe quite possibly played a bigger role in success of the German war economy. As Alan Kramer noted, without the raw materials, forced labor and the extracted armament production from occupied Europe (extracted after 1942 by Hitler's order), production capacity would not have fulfilled military requirements, tilled German agricultural land, nor provided additional foodstuffs for the German population; "Germany would have lost the war by summer 1943."⁶¹

U. S. military government sources support Alan Kramer's supposition. Nazi Germany never achieved self-sufficiency in food production before or during the war. The regime continuously procured primarily from occupied countries approximately 15% of its food requirements during the war. Any U. S. official involved in planning for the occupation of Germany and presumably having available basic knowledge of Germany's circumstances over the previous fifty years should have expected huge food shortages in Germany after capitulation and for several years after the war. Indeed, it became a key policy issue for the U. S. military government to reestablish German exports to balance import of necessary items in short supply, particularly foodstuffs. Until this occurred, the U. S. Government would continue to ship foodstuffs to Germany to provide at least the minimum calorie intake necessary to support life.

⁶¹ Kramer, *The West German Economy, 1945-1955*, 20.

The U. S. Army, the only U. S. governmental agent capable of such a mission, provided the logistics to support this policy.

2. Challenge: *Stunde Null*? Facing defeat and destruction, 1945.

Firestorms, total destruction, unconditional surrender terms provoking vivid scenes of a scorched earth-type policy, while emotionally charged, conveyed little of the reality on the ground. Indeed, Allied bombing raids destroyed German infrastructure, and in turn reduced productive capability, transportation means and routes, housing, schools, and so forth. While destruction rates from the bombing raids vary and have been somewhat exaggerated, in many cases, what was destroyed or damaged is more important than how much damage occurred. For example, all but one of the bridges over the Rhine River were destroyed, and the Rhine, a critical European inland waterway was virtually impassable. The Ruhr coalmines in northwestern Germany - its major coal producing region - could still produce coal but because of damaged or destroyed transportation means and routes, the coal could not be effectively transported to the users. As far as the agricultural areas in the countryside, most relatively undamaged by air raids, available villagers, elders, women and children, planted crops but who would return after the war to harvest the crops, as the Nazi forced laborers, the *Zwangsarbeiter*, were now only voluntarily available?

Agricultural production, characteristic of most production, operates as a system. Only one missing spoke in the wheel can hobble the production process. By the end of World War II, more than one spoke had fallen out of Germany's agricultural production cycle. Russel Hill, writing for the N. Y. Herald Tribune on 2 July 1945, commented on his impressions while driving through a part of the U. S. occupation zone: "a land of plentiful crops, where nearly every acre of soil seems to be exploited to best advantage. Everybody is engaged in getting out

the hay – old men, women and children, and there are many fields of potatoes, spinach, beets, and lettuce ripening under the sun.”⁶² A G-5 Division staff member at U. S. Forces in the European Theater (USFET) Headquarters, wrote,

This impression of plenty is no illusion. The G-5 section of the 12th Army Group Headquarters has estimated that in the U. S. zone between 90 and 100 percent of the areas normally sown have been planted this year. American Military Government authorities are doing everything in their power to help the food crop. Captured Wehrmacht horses are being turned over for agricultural needs, and farmer PWs are getting high discharge priorities.⁶³

One week later, the same G-5 Division staff section filed a more complete report of the agriculture situation in the three western zones of Germany, giving readers a detailed analysis of the food production system in the three western zones, focusing on the U. S. occupation zone.⁶⁴ Not one, but at least nine spokes fell off this wheel, and perhaps not known by journalist Hill, the western region of Germany, and particularly areas to the west and north, historically produced approximately 60-70 percent of the required foodstuffs to support the population in the area prior to the war. Even before German capitulation, refugees had flooded the western zones. Additionally, USFET G-5 estimated that indigenous population movements during the war resulted in approximate 27 and 4 percent increases in population to Bavaria and Württemberg respectively, from northern Germany, since 1939,⁶⁵ a 31percent increase in mouths to feed. Lastly, Displaced Persons (*Zwangsarbeiter*), many having left their forced labor locations, swarmed the region looking for food and shelter.

Concurrently, in cascading sequence, wartime destruction and dislocation wrecked the transportation and communication systems, creating critical breaks in not only the traditional

⁶² U. S. Forces European Theater, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-5 Division Information Branch, “Food,” *Military Government Weekly Information Bulletin*, no. 1 (28 July 1945): 25.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ U. S. Forces European Theater, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-5 Division Information Branch, “German Food Problems and Policies,” *Military Government Weekly Information Bulletin*, no. 2 (4 August 1945): 3-6.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

food distribution systems from the ground to storage and then on to the market, but also in the ability to administer and communicate food production across the region. Subsequently, transporting necessary farm labor -- early-release German POWs, as the *Zwangsarbeiter* that had replaced many German men during the war left the fields, to the needed locations depended on transportation assets sadly lacking. Simultaneously, the destruction and dislocation also resulted in interruptions of spring planting in many areas, as well as the inability to procure enough seed and fertilizer for planting, and particularly seed for sugar beets that had traditionally come from the eastern sections of Germany.

Sequentially following the planting, harvesting and transporting foodstuffs requiring processing to the refineries, canneries and related production facilities required not only transportation assets to move the harvest, but also fuel. Likewise, the production process required fuel, in particular, coal, itself a critically short resource. U. S. military government officials had already calculated a shortage of butter, cheese, livestock and preserved fruits and vegetables available for the winter season.

Finally, continually throughout this cycle, administrative issues constantly required attention. Firstly, the denazification process forced the removal, at least initially, of key German administrators and officials, removing the knowledge and experience base of the agriculture production process. Secondly, military government organizational responsibility shifted constantly during the summer of 1945, causing confusion as to implementation of policies and rendering of logistic support. The initial and perhaps most critical decision the military government had to make involved establishing the ration scale, as it was already clear that foodstuffs would not meet requirements for the winter 1945-1946. One decision came easily: in order to conserve grain supplies, the U. S. military government prohibited the brewing of beer

for German civilian consumption. With so many unknowns in the agriculture production process, how does an administration set a ration scale?

On the one hand, several million people perished during the Allied ground and air campaigns. On the other hand, some areas remained relatively untouched. In other words, the Allies defeated the Nazi regime; brought the German State to its heels, exacting its unconditional surrender, but they did not destroy the nation. While infrastructure destruction pervaded in the cities and industrial areas, most of the countryside remained relatively untouched. The damage that really mattered over time befell German institutions, community life and the German population.

The terms of the Potsdam Protocol, signed at the meeting of Marshal Stalin, President Harry S. Truman and Prime Ministers Winston S. Churchill and Clement Attlee, confirmed the agreement of the wartime allies to put into place a military government on the ground in Germany, that proved challenging for the occupying authorities. In contrast to rosy projections about Germany's rapid recovery, U. S. Forces faced enormous challenges in the immediate aftermath of World War II. The country suffered enormous destruction in many cities and industrial areas – exactly the locations where U. S. military and later civilian occupation authorities stationed the majority of their forces. Not only did U. S. Forces have to resupply themselves but these forces also faced the daunting task of repairing or, in many cases, rebuilding essential infrastructure – bridges, roads, railroad junctions, sewage treatment plants, electric, water and gas utilities, inland waterways and critical buildings. Additionally, U. S. Forces supplied fuel and food to Germans in the assigned U. S. occupation zone to prevent total collapse of the population immediately following the war.

In the immediate aftermath of V-E Day, the U. S Army became not only the logistics workhorse providing the mechanisms for deployments from the European to the Pacific theater, but also the collectors, inventory-takers, packers, shippers, suppliers and transporters of personnel and materiel required by U. S military personnel and family members assigned for duty in occupied Germany. Additionally, U. S. Army personnel formed the initial crews in many German villages, towns and cities to repair at least temporarily many ruined factories, broken communications systems and utility works, transportation routes and equipment, and provided critical repair parts and “work-arounds” for the worn-out machinery, so necessary for daily survival. The following notes from a U. S. Forces, European Theater *Weekly Information Bulletin* could have been Anywhere, Germany in the summer of 1945. A U. S. Army Civil Affairs Detachment (CAD E2C2) coordinated with the Bremen German Civilian Billeting Office to take “immediate and aggressive steps to provide increased housing facilities in the city” to provide minimally adequate housing for 32,000 city residents and approximately 70,000 returning Prisoners of War. CAD E2C2 urged the civil authorities to begin repairs immediately, while the Military Government would do “everything it could to provide food, fuel and building materials, and that these efforts would be continued. Additional housing has first priority in the rehabilitation program.”⁶⁶ Such early reports across occupied Germany represented the norm.

2.1 The Nazi Inheritance: Reality on the Ground at War’s End.

General Lucius Clay, in Germany prior to the capitulation and the only senior U. S. Army leader assigned for the duration of the U. S. military government in Germany, characterized the situation in Germany immediately after capitulation.

We began from scratch, with Germany as close to the bottom as an industrial nation could be. Germany needed everything. The war had left ruined factories,

⁶⁶ U. S. Forces European Theater. Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-5 Division, Information Branch, *Military Government Weekly Information Bulletin*, no. 4 (18 August 1945): 17.

broken communications, worn-out machinery, demoralized workers. Cities were devastated; living space was scarce, millions of displaced persons wandered over the land. Food, coal, and raw materials were scarce. The complicated economic system under which goods are produced, exchanged, and used had broken down. The equally complicated system for administration of a modern nation was non-existent. There was no government. There were no leaders.⁶⁷

All *Federal, Länder, Distrikt* and *Kreis* (central, state, county and city) government had collapsed and senior-level personnel dismissed. Public services operated only sporadically, hampered by damage, destruction and lack of fuel. Communications means – phones, mail, radio and press – devolved to occupation authorities. Transportation routes littered with war debris and crowded with troops and refugees as well as damaged or destroyed rail lines and blocked inland waterways severely restricted movement. Adding to this chaos, destroyed or damaged bridges, sunken barges and mines further thwarted movement – particularly on the Rhine and Danube rivers, earlier the capillary system for inland German trade as well as key trade routes with its neighbors. In the U. S. occupation zone alone, initially over 2.5 million Displaced Persons required support and eventual repatriation, soon to be joined by refugees from the East and expellees from Czechoslovakia and Hungary. One also must add to the number requiring basic needs, approximately five million demilitarized *Wehrmacht* soldiers. Further complicating this difficult situation was the following circumstance noted by General Clay:

Hundreds of thousands of tons of German war material had to be guarded and destroyed while more than 8,000,000 tons of our own equipment were moved into Germany from the liberated areas for disposal or for utilization by our occupation forces. . . . Certainly the authorities in Washington who had prepared our policy directive did not visualize these conditions.⁶⁸

Obviously, expectations for a short occupation quickly collapsed.

General Eisenhower, the SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force) Commander until SHAEF's dissolution in July 1945, and senior U. S. Army officer in charge of

⁶⁷ General Lucius D. Clay, "Germany – Four Years of Occupation," *Army Information Digest* (May-June 1949): 3.

⁶⁸ General Lucius D. Clay, *Decision in Germany* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1950), 15-16.

the initial U. S. occupation in Europe until his departure in late November 1945, fervently hoped that the role of the United States would quickly revert from the military to a civilian-led occupation. As it happened, however, the transition from a military-led to a civilian-led occupation government would not take place until the summer of 1949. The U. S. Army continued to provide security and logistics support for the duration of either military or civilian-led occupation. How herculean this task would become was not immediately apparent to the military government or U. S. Army forces. It took U. S. occupation authorities up to three months after capitulation to calculate a good measure of the damage, destruction and therefore minimum requirements to put Germany and the Germans back on their feet. Perhaps statistics from the OMGUS September 1945 report provide a better sense of the U. S. Army's immediate logistics mission while postulating a longer-than anticipated occupation.

Fuel, construction materials and food represented the most critical resources required initially. Of these, perhaps the most crucial German production line – coal – critical for domestic as well as export purposes *war praktisch stillgelegt* (practically non-existent) at war's end. Displaced Persons no longer provided the labor source while indigenous labor provided approximately 50% of 1938 labor levels.⁶⁹ Moreover, destroyed or damaged rail, roadways and transportation assets further hampered movement of allowed production to the consumers. With coal mining initially at a standstill at war's end due to labor shortages, Germany's steel and other industrial production also slowed to a snail's pace.

Most importantly, the Potsdam Protocol provisions, although not in effect until August 1945, severely limited coal production as a major part of the plan to demilitarize Germany. The procedures to control coal production developed in the Ruhr region focused ostensibly on an

⁶⁹ Office of Military Government United States-Germany (OMGUS), *Monthly Military Government Report for September 1945* (Berlin: OMGUS): 9.

Allied Control Council-determined Level of Industry to raise coal production to meet reparations requirements, leaving little coal for domestic use, particularly coal for the heating of homes in the winter. Concern for serious increases in disease and mortality rates among the elderly and young weighed heavily on occupation authorities as early as the summer of 1945. Even though production had increased from month to month after May 1945, regions within the U. S. occupation zone had never produced high levels of coal and therefore, this vital fuel had to come from the other zones. By September 1945, German labor produced approximately 70% of hard coal and 68% of brown coal at 1938 levels.⁷⁰ At these levels coal production would not sustain the indigenous population, the Displaced Persons population, refugees and the U. S. occupation forces. Either the French, British or Soviets supplied coal from their regions to support the U. S. zone, or the U. S. Government had to ship coal from the United States. Until the Allied Control Council established a sufficient “Level of Industry” policy for coal production to meet both export and domestic use, industries, transportation assets and the population would suffer.

The shortage of fuel produced a snowballing effect. Electric power generation depended on four sources: hydro-generation, brown coal, hard coal, fuel oil and gas. According to the September 1945 OMGUS Military Government Report, by the end of that month, hydro-generated electricity stood at 63% viable, with brown coal and hard coal at 13% and 1 % respectively, fuel oil at 2%, and gas production virtually non-existent due to coal shortages. While these levels barely covered minimum requirements through September, cold weather had not set in. These levels would not supply requirements for the population and occupation forces during winter months. Even though hydro-generation provided the highest level of electricity through September, this source diminished during winter months because of the propensity for water to freeze in cold weather.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 8.

Furthermore, fuel not only heated homes and moved transport, but also fed industrial production, at least that industrial production allowed by the Allied Control Council, e.g., the production of plastics, some synthetics and dyestuffs, some pharmaceuticals, fertilizer for agriculture, soaps and medical supplies. Even where a limited level of production could continue, the long pole in the tent – replacement of raw resources for production – failed. Furthermore, occupation authorities shut down key firms producing essential products for agriculture, e.g., fertilizer, as under Allied Control Council directives, either the components or the process of producing certain components fit into the category of production of war industry materials. Equally serious was the reality that the broken transportation system could not move even the small amount of items produced to the consumers. Rail, road and inland waterways and ports provided the arteries for the German economy, moving products and people within not only Germany but also north-south and east-west through Germany to surrounding countries. Damaged heavily by Allied air strikes, the German transportation and communications infrastructure supported neither the U. S. Army forces' needs nor subsistence requirements of the Germans for the near future without at least temporary repair. Ports, particularly Bremerhaven, Bremen and Marseilles, damaged by sunken ships and barges and laced with mines, topped the list of immediate repairs for the U. S. Army Engineers. Likewise, bridges – both rail and road - required at least temporary fixes to allow thoroughfare transportation. Additionally, rail networks could not run without operational communications systems.

In another critical area, building materials, U. S. occupation authorities recognized almost immediately that available resources fell below both military and civilian requirements, requiring imports from the United States to cover minimum needs. The following chart amplifies the shortages. None of the resources listed reached even half of requirements. Even with cement

and lime at 33.9% and 42.2% respectively, with brick produced at only 2.6%, repair of buildings could proceed excruciatingly slowly. Similarly, repairing roofs proceeded slowly due to the shortage of roofing materials. Only the supply of pit props for the mines seemed adequate.

Production of Building Materials for Military and Civilian Use⁷¹

Product	Unit	Production/Requirement	% of Requirement
Glass	Square meters	170,000/1,342,600	12.6
Lumber	Cubic meters	83,600/238,650	35.0
Pit Props (for mines)	Metric tons	63,920/75,000	85.2
Plywood	Square meters	66,500/353,500	18.8
Cement	Metric tons	44,819/132,399	33.9
Lime	Metric tons	3,600/8,517	42.2
Plaster	Metric tons	1,200/24,385	4.9
Brick	Each	1,500,000/57,500,000	2.6
Roofing tile	Each	834,000/25,110,000	3.3
Roofing paper	Square meters	950,000/9,880,000	9.6

Aside from shortage of fuel and construction materials, shortage of food was of most concern to the Germans struggling to survive. U. S. occupation authorities noted that food shortages potentially creating malnutrition, if not starvation, as the immediate critical economic problem in the U. S. occupation zone. A 19 June 1945 *The Stars & Stripes* report observed that under strict rationing in the Rhine valley area, at roughly 1150 calories per person per day, food sources would supply the indigenous population in the U. S. occupation zone until summer harvests. Predicting harvest results, however, would prove difficult because of several factors: drought conditions, shortage of labor and fertilizer, poor transportation and war destruction.⁷² Indigenous sources could not provide enough food products at the authorized ration level of 1550 calories daily for the normal consumer. Grain and potato harvests from 1944 ran out before harvesting of the 1945 crops; said crops estimated at only 83% of Germany's 1939-1944

⁷¹ Ibid., 12.

⁷² Dick Lewis, *The Stars & Stripes*, 19 June 1945.

average. According to OMGUS health surveys, already 60% of the German population⁷³ lived on a sub-standard diet that only in some cases either home gardens and produce or the black market could supplement, if personal funds were available.

Food production depended on several factors that, with the exception of late planting because of the ongoing war and the summer drought, related directly to the consequences of war: shortages of seeds, fertilizer, insecticides, machinery, transport assets (primarily rail, trucks and horses), and farm labor. German firms that before the war under the Nazi Four-Year Plans altered production lines in favor of war material could not refocus on production of farm equipment and chemicals because occupation forces either targeted many of these firms as reparations-eligible or shut down the firms pending denazification processing. Even if a firm escaped these procedures, acquiring raw materials for production proved near impossible. To bolster food supplies in Germany, the U. S. Government initially shipped over 690,000 long tons of wheat as a reserve for the U. S., British and French occupation zones to supplement known shortages.⁷⁴ As the months wore on and foodstuffs ever more scarce to find, the U. S. Government shipped considerably more food products to Europe and Germany, and the U. S. Army provided the bulk of the transportation and storage resources for shipment and distribution in country.

2.2 *Tausch-, Schleichhandel und Fringsen* (Bartering, Black Marketing and Scrounging).

As a *Stars & Stripes* journalist noted in a 1 June 1945 article, whatever food civilians had in the urban areas came from the surrounding farm lands “in driblets” by whatever means of transportation people could find, usually bicycles or on foot. Further, seeing so many people during early morning and evening hours riding on whatever streetcars still ran (referring to

⁷³ OMGUS, *Monthly Military Government Report for September 1945*, 7.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

Hamburg at this time), heading out to the suburbs or into the surrounding countryside, he wondered why. Most travelled to the countryside in search of food for the next day. He emphasized that, “hunting food is the chief occupation for the citizens of Hamburg [or any urban area in Germany at this time]. There is plenty of time for that because there isn’t much other productive work that most can do. What work is done consists mostly in an attempt to clear rubble, restore communications and building shelter.”

Bartering, black market activities and scrounging often replaced normal markets as the only possible methods to increase meagre food and fuel supplies during at least the first two miserable winter years – 1945-46 and 1946-47. Of the three activities, bartering, legal or illegal, and scrounging received less scrutiny, while black market activities bedeviled the authorities the most – and for several reasons. Most importantly, the desperate demand for food items and the shortage of supply in the already severely rationed communities created ever-higher prices (either *Reichmarks* legitimately or “cigarettes” on the black market), leading to dangerous inflation, an awful prospect for older Germans who remembered the inflationary spiral after World War I. Moreover, farmers could sell their products on the black market for considerably more than they would receive through the compulsory delivery and rationed item systems established through military government channels.

Over and above the German population’s need for scarce resources, a number of U.S. soldiers, recipients of rationed items highly desired by the local population, pounced upon the opportunity to supplement their government incomes by selling sought after rationed objects such as cigarettes, sugar, coffee, butter, even fuel at the black markets. Some would then exchange the *Reichmarks* at Army finance centers for either official Allied marks or U. S. dollars. Other soldiers and some officers pursued black market activities as a second career,

often making more money at black marketeering than in their official capacities. One U. S. Army soldier reminisced about his exposure to black marketing while doing MP duty in Belgium in 1945:

Our first introduction [to black marketing] came in a subtle way, like a civilian approaching us and asking if we wanted to sell a pack of cigarettes. Just to put things in perspective, cigarettes were the most desirable commodity in Europe at that time. They had become a medium of exchange and in many cases, people would rather be paid in American cigarettes than in money from any country. They could be bartered for anything and were more in demand than currencies. . . [The individual] buying the cigarettes would pay us in Belgium government francs . . . we would then convert back into Army scrip or American dollars at the camp money center. It seemed like such a simple way to make some fast spending money, but we also knew it was dealing in the black market, which was illegal.⁷⁵

Of course, any member of the U. S. occupation force caught in such activities faced legal action, at least a delay in redeploying back to the States, and possibly a bad conduct discharge.

In an effort to curb rampant black market activities, military government set up price controls on scarce food items, but this initiative met with little success. OMGUS also set up a semi-official barter exchange system, with centers in at least Berlin, Frankfurt and Stuttgart. As Martin Sommers wrote in his 13 March 1948 *Saturday Evening Post* article, "Looting with Consent," the rationale for establishing the *Tauschzentrale* (barter centers) considered the shortage of household effects needed in the households of the occupying forces, allowing Americans to exchange foodstuffs mailed from the States, but in short supply among the German population, for needed household effects. U. S. military government employees, usually German women, working under Military Government officials priced and supervised the exchange process. By setting up the *Tauschzentrale*, OMGUS hoped to curb black market activities, but the effort experienced only limited success. Black market activity slackened considerably with

⁷⁵ Robert F. Gallagher, "Scratch One Messerschmitt" accessed 19 Dec 13, <http://www.gallagher.com/ww2/chapter26.html> .

the currency reform in June 1948. In the meantime, this so-called “cigarette economy” probably kept many a German alive for the first two to three years after the war.

An oft resorted to measure to supplement resources – *Fringsen*, or scrounging – often proved innovative, usually quite effective, but not without an element of risk. For example, a group of brothers would hop slow-moving trains going through the outskirts of their village to toss down coal briquettes or sugar beets to one of the group on the ground who would then pick up the pieces. The coal supplemented fuel for heating while the sugar beets became either sugar or *Schnapps* – the latter manufactured under the cover of darkness as the U. S. military government forbade alcohol production for the local populations in the early days after the war.⁷⁶ Another tactic involved a group of young teachers. While the most attractive of the females would distract any security personnel, the others in the group would appropriate coal or whatever needed resource was available. When the book bags could carry no more, the detractor disengaged from flirting and the group headed home with their goods.⁷⁷

3. Summary.

The German economic system came to a standstill in the first months after war’s end. Food production reached less than half its 1938 level. Food rationing varied between roughly 1,000 and 1,500 calories per person per day. Industrial output was less than 30% its 1938 level. Large numbers of working-age men, either in uniform or dead, could neither help with industrial nor agricultural tasks, nor the necessary clearing of rubble and temporary repair and reconstruction of transportation systems, utilities, housing and the sundry other facilities and services that make up daily life in a community. Looking at rough statistics, larger industrial and urban areas suffered partial to total damage ranging from 42% in Munich to 80% in Mainz.

⁷⁶ Oral interviews with Harald, Hans-Juergen and Werner Krüger on numerous occasions during the period of dissertation development, September 2011 to December 2013.

⁷⁷ Oral interview with Frau Suse Pfeiffer, October 2011 and May 2014.

Stuttgart (Württemberg-Baden), for example, the traditional industrial and transportation hub of southwest Germany, had contributed mightily to the German war effort. Companies such as Daimler-Benz produced tanks and aircraft engines; Robert Bosch produced electrical equipment; Mahle K. G. produced pistons; the Vereinigte Kugellagerfabriken produced ball bearings; and H. Hirth produced aircraft parts. Several military kasernes ringed Stuttgart, e.g., Kurmärker in Vaihingen and a Luftwaffe airfield at Echterdingen. Thus, it was not surprising that Allied aircraft targeted the area frequently – 53 raids between 1940 and 1945.

The status of the economic situation within and between the Potsdam Protocol-oriented occupation zones in Germany depended on consensual policies developed at the Allied Control Council. Both the French and to some degree the Soviet Union objected to the stipulation that Germany be run as an economic unit. The French vetoed any suggestion of centralization and the Soviets refused to comply with the mechanisms decreed relative to food and fuel exchanges. All four occupiers disagreed on various aspects of a reparations policy.⁷⁸ By September 1945, U. S. military government authorities relaxed economic controls, allowing trade and communications within the U. S. zone, placing more responsibility on German authorities, while honoring the Potsdam Protocol principles of decartelization, denazification and disarmament.

Even if public officials in Washington had not yet reckoned with a long occupation in Germany, the military authorities in Germany had figured it out. An early OMGUS report noted:

It is necessary to emphasize, however, that even though satisfactory economic disarmament of Germany does not prevent the future subsistence of her people

⁷⁸ A large number of secondary sources focus on the Allied Control Council actions and the relationships between and among the members. For a quick reference, the following sources are offered: Edward N. Peterson, *The American Occupation of Germany: Retreat to Victory* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1977), particularly pages 66-69 and 123-125; Alec Cairncross, *The Price of War: British Policy on German Reparations, 1941-1949* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1986), Chapters 5-7; Alan Kramer, *The West German Economy 1945-1955* (Oxford: Berg, Publishers Limited, 1991), Chapter 2. Michael Balfour, *Vier-Mächte Kontrolle in Deutschland 1945-1946* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1959), Kapitel 9. Additionally, two memoirs recount many of the more critical conflicts at the ACC: Lucius D. Clay, *Decision in Germany* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1950) and Robert Murphy, *Diplomat among Warriors* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1964).

without external assistance, the destruction and dislocation of her industry by the war, accentuated by reparations, will certainly prolong the period of reconstruction for several years, during which the German people are unlikely to be able to reach this objective by their own efforts.⁷⁹

A military occupation of short or long duration unquestionably requires thoughtful, detailed yet flexible planning. The Americans had a plan but not one universally accepted among the planning communities of the State and War departments. The War Department placed responsibility for civil affairs and occupation planning primarily with the Provost Marshal Directorate. No doubt, the first forays into this task of planning for the post-war occupation led to an examination of previous U. S. military occupations.

⁷⁹ OMGUS, *Monthly Report*, no. 3 (20 Oct 45): 7.

Chapter II. U. S. Strategic Planning for the Occupation of Germany

Introduction: the political becomes logistical.

The level of logistic support by the U. S. Army in its occupation zone depended initially on the tenor of the Allied agreements promulgated before the war's end. More than that, the Army's logistic support mission mushroomed after the war because of the wartime destruction, as well as the changing, global political scene, the dire economic situation in post-war Europe, and the humanitarian mission on the ground in Europe. Underlying these challenges remained the traditional Army logistics support mission to its own community – soldiers, civilians and eventually family members who joined service members overseas.

National leaders sign and bind their administration and citizens to treaties and international agreements. As long as the parties to the agreement uphold the tenets of the treaty or agreement, or any agreed upon modifications thereto, life goes on under the agreed arrangements. If one or more parties ignore the treaty or agreement requirements, other treaty or agreement signers often change direction. A close reading of the Potsdam Protocol coupled with the difficulties the World War II Allies experienced in executing the Protocol with regard to Germany certainly warrant this observation. One example: In the absence of an Allied Control Council agreement on economic unity, the United States and Great Britain set up Bizonia in 1947 to provide at least a two-zone economic exchange. France joined a year later.

The Potsdam Protocol established the procedure of consensus rule; agreeing to consensus votes on issues raised at the Allied Control Council allowed any of the four members to exercise its veto, effectively blocking action unless members arrived at a compromise provision. On at least two critical points – economic unity and establishment of centralized German administration for critical utilities and transportation, the Allies never reached a compromise. Failure to come to consensus within both the Council of Foreign Ministers and the Allied

Control Council, authorizing execution of the Protocol as agreed on, contributed considerably to increasing the load of the U. S. Army logistics mission in Germany, as well as delaying Germany's economic recovery, at least for the first two years of occupation. Ultimately, the British and American occupation forces adopted alternatives to accomplish their objectives, e.g., establishment of Bizonia. The political agreements, protocols and directives – particularly the Potsdam Protocol, in essence, became logistical arrangements.

Although not yet militarily committed, the United States quietly engaged in secret strategy and planning discussions with the British and Canadians during the American British Canadian (ABC) discussions between 29 January and 27 March 1941. The British and Americans agreed that the Western Hemisphere for the United States, and the survival of the British Commonwealth for the British represented the primary areas of interest for the United States and Great Britain respectively. The British and Americans also agreed that the European Theater would be the first fight. After the U. S. entered World War II in December 1941, the U.S. and British governments entered into joint discussions regarding eventual surrender of German military forces and occupation of post-war Germany. The Soviet Union joined official discussions at the Tripartite Conference of Foreign Ministers in Moscow between 18 October and 1 November 1943, as well as at political leader conferences beginning with Tehran in December 1943. However, on-the-ground logistics decisions pertaining to post-hostilities Germany, e.g., assigned zone of occupation, populations requiring support and extent of war damage, remained elusive throughout most of the war.

1. How to Plan and Prepare for the U. S. Occupation in Germany

U. S. Government planning for the occupation of Germany occurred relatively early in the war at four different levels – the national leadership level, Federal agency level, in coalition

with Great Britain and at theater level -- often simultaneously. However, simultaneity in planning did not enjoy the high level of technical communications capabilities known today; consequently, delays in planning products reaching coordinating bodies often resulted in confusion and contradiction. Moreover, the President avoided designating a sole responsible planning agency; rather, multiple agencies failed to coordinate with each other, further hampering planning efforts while violating a basic principle, unity of command. Furthermore, agencies within the War Department coordinated independently with State and Treasury Department agencies. Agencies within both the State and War Departments coordinated with counterparts in Great Britain, and General Eisenhower's staff engaged in its own planning for the Allied role in post-war Germany, however, failure to identify and concur on the critical Allied interests as well as U. S. national interests hampered planning throughout the war.

1.1 An Occupation Model: *Die Wacht am Rhein 1919* (Occupation on the Rhine).

Assuming some policy guidance from President Roosevelt and the State Department would be forthcoming, in the interim; could any of the nine⁸⁰ historic U. S. military occupations serve as a model to U. S. Army planners for the occupation of Germany following World War II? With the exception of the Allied occupation of Germany following World War I, the other eight occupations focused on peacekeeping operations, imperialistic actions or spreading-democracy missions. The Occupation of the Rhine appeared the best suited as a model. Its geographic location, Germany, and organizational composition, the Rhineland occupation followed a multinational-force war and was a coalition effort, closely paralleled the anticipated second occupation. Further, the Rhineland occupation was the most recent military occupation engaged in by U. S. troops. The War Department therefore commissioned the reprinting of

⁸⁰ Mexican War, 1846-48; U. S. Civil War 1862-3; Spanish American War (Philippines, Puerto Rico, Panama, Cuba), 1898-1912; Haiti, 1915-1934; Dominican Republic, 1916-1924; Nicaragua, 1905-1925 and 1926-1933; Germany, 1919-1923; East Siberia, 1918-1920; Dalmatia, 1918-1921.

Colonel I. L. Hunt's report on civil affairs in the American occupation zone during the Rhineland Occupation. U. S. planners would eventually see more dissimilarities than similarities between the two operations as World War II took back stage to the occupation.

Whereas ideological issues among the Allied forces and Germany did not drive World War I or the subsequent occupation, eradicating Fascism and the vestiges of the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP) and its organizations and agencies drove World War II in Europe and immediate post-war policy, specifically policies to implement democratization, demilitarization, denazification, and decartelization. Arguably, re-educating the German people after World War II took top priority with the U. S. military government. This facet of military government policy became increasingly relevant in the face of perceived escalation of Soviet intransigence within the Allied Control Council, and the development of the Cold War.

The terms of surrender also differed greatly between the two wars. World War I ended as an armistice followed by the Treaty of Versailles within a year. World War II, prosecuted as a "defeat and destroy" mission, ended under terms of unconditional surrender. Towards the end of the war, Germany itself became the theater of operation, subject to the full force of the destructive power of the U. S, Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, for both the Germans and the Allies, the fighting probably lasted longer entailing more loss of life and destruction on the ground had the fighting ended with an armistice. As Gustav Stolper noted in 1947, "Except for the losses and dead and wounded and the biological damage incurred in the hungry years of the blockade, Germany had withstood the war. The productive plant and transportation system were worn down, but they existed."⁸¹ Whereas relatively little infrastructure damage occurred within Germany during World War I, major damage to most

⁸¹ Gustav Stolper, *German Realities* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1947), 175.

German cities and industrial centers, with the additional physical and psychological impact on the indigenous German population, took its toll after World War II. Furthermore, after World War I, returned German veterans played a significant political role in some regions of Germany, such as the *Freikorps* and its role in prevention of a genuine social revolution in 1918-1919, or elements of the Prussian military aiding in the obstruction of parliamentary democracy. Even though military planners feared a similar reaction after the capitulation in 1945, a “stab in the back mentality” did not develop a second time around as German forces lost on all fronts. The Allied Powers insisted from the beginning of the occupation that all Germans - soldiers, families and civilians—had to share in the discomforts of destruction and hardship following World War II.

Germany had a working Federal government and governmental administration in place and functioning throughout the non-occupied areas of Germany after World War I. Furthermore, the Allied occupiers relied on local German officials in every-day transactions throughout the occupation period. The German government after capitulation in May 1945 collapsed. What German officials remained in positions, primarily at the local community levels, reflected a minority that at least the American occupiers reduced even further through their denazification process. The Four Powers recreated and later supervised occupation governments in their assigned zones in Germany after World War II. Each occupation government – some faster than others - vested governmental authority back into local German government and their supporting agencies. However, a federal German government did not reappear officially until ratification of the Basic Law in May 1949 and the subsequent federal elections and swearing in of the new government in August and September 1949 -- the last year of the military occupation.

Whereas the military government in the occupied provinces of Germany following World War I lasted a relatively short period – for the Americans, from December 1918 until January 1920, the military government occupation after World War II lasted from 1945 until 1949.⁸² Further, the Treaty of Versailles accepted in June 1919, officially ended World War I, whereas the peace treaty officially ending World War II, the Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany, went into force in September 1990, forty-five years after capitulation.

Relative to its involvement in World War II and the follow-on occupation, the U. S. Government supported Allies and forces over a considerably larger geographical area than during World War I. One cannot adequately compare the logistics support in what was truly a worldwide war effort during World War II, with the more limited action and support provided during World War I. Furthermore, the destruction on the ground in Germany, the enormity of the economic impact in Europe, and the barbarity of the war crimes caused by the Nazi regime required more than the passive occupation following World War I. Unconditional surrender left Germany stateless:

A creature without a head or limbs, lacking its own law courts, administration, and Constitution, utterly in the hands of the victors. No such catastrophe had faced the nation since the Thirty Years' War in the 17th century. . . . The territory, already reduced in 1919, lost another quarter of its area; one tenth of the people killed, the population exposed to hunger, millions without shelter or belongings, and communications with the outside world broken off. Railroads, mail and telephones were out of commission, no newspaper could be printed; Germany had lost her voice.⁸³

Finally, COL Hunt, in his report to Army Headquarters concerning the first partial occupation of Germany noted that, “The American army of occupation lacked both training and organization to guide the destinies of the nearly one million civilians whom the fortunes of war

⁸² The High Commissioner period of the occupation, supported by the military forces, lasted over five years, officially from mid-1949 to May 1955.

⁸³ Ibid., 176.

had placed under is temporary sovereignty.”⁸⁴ He suggested that civil affairs operations demanded policies, a dedicated organization and civil affairs training. This recommendation interested few Army personnel between the wars. Nevertheless, the Judge Advocate General’s office in the War Department did update the *Basic Field Manual*, Volume VII, part two (January 2, 1934), with publication of *Field Manual (FM) 27-10, Rules of Land Warfare, 1 October 1940*. Although published a few months earlier, the formative edition of *Field Manual 27-5, Manual of Military Government and Civil Affairs, 30 July 1940*, supplemented Chapter 10 in FM 27-10. FM 27-5 paragraph 6, assigned responsibility “for preparation of plans and determination of policies with respect to military government” to the Personnel Division, G1. As Earl Ziemke humorously noted, these two field manuals “would eventually be regarded as the Old and New Testaments of American military government.”⁸⁵

In 1940, as the U. S. was not engaged in the war, none of the War Department staff sections appeared to be too excited about the new Civil Affairs mission – least of all, the always-understaffed G1 directorate. By the fall of 1941, the situation had worsened, although the U. S. was not yet at war. The Provost Marshal General post was reactivated, and interestingly, the JAG officer responsible for both manuals, Major General Allen W. Gullion, became the Provost Marshal General that fall, and shortly thereafter, “father” of the Military Police Corps. In the process of organizing a military police school in November 1941, General Gullion volunteered to include military government courses at the school. G1 was, as Ziemke wrote, “Pleased to have a

⁸⁴ I. L. Hunt, *American Military Government of Occupied Germany, 1918-1920: Report of the Officer in Charge of Civil Affairs, Third Army and American Forces in Germany* (1920, reprint, Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 65. For a lengthy discussion of military government administration problems and requirements, see Hunt, Chapter 4.

⁸⁵ Earl F. Ziemke, *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, Government Printing Office, 1975), 4.

place to put the training function.”⁸⁶ The story does not end here, as the oft- squabbling federal staff agencies delayed a final decision, until a compromise ending in approval by Chief of Staff, General Marshall, resulted in the authorization for the Provost Marshal to conduct military government training “in a school to be operated for other purposes.” The University of Virginia became the “school operated for other purposes,”⁸⁷ and the first U. S War Department academic institution to train civil affairs officers. The first class began in May, 1942, with a program designed to take advantage of the University of Virginia location, faculty and facilities, as well as the facilities of both the Command and General Staff College (Ft. Leavenworth) and the faculty at the Army War College (at that time, in Washington, D. C.).

The military government training program experienced numerous crises over the next eighteen months, especially getting and graduating enough quality personnel to meet the demand. Arguments back and forth among agencies, compromises, and finally necessity led to approval and establishment of a second training venue by November 1942. The Provost Marshal staff developed a four-month program to train the newly selected civilian specialists – one month in a Military Police boot camp at Fort Custer, Michigan, followed by a three-month crash course in a foreign language, and regionally-related history, political science, and economics courses at one of six selected universities.⁸⁸

Concomitantly with the birthing pains of the civil affairs training programs in the spring and summer of 1942, the question of which agency would run civil affairs/military government activities in liberated or occupied countries surfaced, particularly as the kick-off of Operation

⁸⁶ Ziemke, *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946*, 6, and Henry L. Coles and Albert K. Weinberg, *Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1986), 9. The Cole/Weinberg text tracts the development through a selection of documents influencing related actions, events and decisions. Ziemke’s narrative follows the documents carefully.

⁸⁷ Ziemke, *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946*, 6.

⁸⁸ Ziemke, *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946*, 20. The initial six universities: Yale, Harvard, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Michigan and Stanford. Northwestern, Boston Wisconsin, and Western Reserve were added by September 1943.

TORCH approached. President Roosevelt delegated policy formulation and execution of civil affairs to the State Department and procurement and delivery of relief supplies to the Lend-Lease Administration. Neither agency lived up to the President's intent, the War Department standards, or supply requirements on the ground. The Army picked up the resupply mission at the North African end.⁸⁹ By February 1943, General Eisenhower, recognizing that the invasion of Sicily was only a boot jump away, and not excited about repeating the North African debacle, raised again the issue of unity of command and clarification of the relationships between civil and military authorities and missions. To establish ownership over civil affairs operations, the War Department, with approval from the Chief of Staff, set up the Civil Affairs Division (CAD) within the General Staff, effective 1 March 1943, with Major General John H. Hilldring as its director. As the War Department's civil affairs coordinator, the CAD was responsible for all civilian agency activities in theaters of operations as well as insuring that plans involving occupation of enemy or enemy controlled territory included detailed civil affairs planning.⁹⁰

Colonel Hunt's ghost could now rest easy that his advice, at least on the importance of civil affairs training prior to a military occupation, had been implemented. What he had not mentioned, and what still remained to be done, was a Presidential decision on which agency had the primary responsibility for military government and civil affairs post-conflict. During the silence from the White House on this issue, the civil affairs boys began work on a handbook.

⁸⁹ Henry L. Coles and Albert K. Weinberg, *Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1986), Chapter II, 30-62.

⁹⁰ The Civil Affairs story is available in narrative form in Ziemke, *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946*, 4-22, and through abbreviated transcriptions between various government agencies during the process of setting up CATP and the CAD, in Henry L. Coles and Albert K. Weinberg, *Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1986), Chapters I through IV, 3-114.

1.2 A Handbook for Military Occupation?

By the Tehran Conference, December 1943, if not sooner, it was clear that the Allies would replace whatever existed of the Nazi regime and government after Germany's unconditional surrender. The U. S. Army experience during the Rhineland occupation, 1919-1920, increasingly dissimilar to the situation presenting itself to planners during World War II, did provide the basis for the first *U. S. Army Basic Field Manual FM 27-5, Military Government (1940)* that delineated policy and procedures for military government. Based as the earlier manual was on the aftermath of World War I and the establishment of partial occupation of Germany, the U. S. War Department updated the manual in December 1943. This version, *FM 27-5 Manual of Military Government and Civil Affairs*, included the relatively new concept of civil affairs and reflected the realities of an unconditional surrender following a total and considerably more technical war that wrecked significant physical damage on Germany.

Finalization of this field manual supported the eventual development during the summer, 1944, of a draft *Handbook for Military Government in Germany Prior to Defeat or Surrender* that was suspended through efforts of President Roosevelt's aides and a cabinet member, who felt the tone of the Handbook too soft. However, SHAEF finally published a harsher handbook by December 1944, with an introductory statement that the Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Force was "initially responsible for the establishment of Military Government in areas of Germany occupied by forces under his command. At some time following the occupation, a successor agency may assume responsibility for the Military Government of Germany; until that time the Supreme Commander will be fully responsible for establishing and maintaining complete Military Government in his area."⁹¹ General Eisenhower and numerous

⁹¹ Supreme Headquarters Office of the Chief of Staff Allied Expeditionary Force. *Handbook for Military Government in Germany Prior to Defeat or Surrender*, CD-ROM, (December 1944).

senior leaders in the U. S. Army did not want the military government role in Germany. General Eisenhower wrote a number of memorandums on the subject to General Marshall during the summer and fall, 1945, recommending a civilian-run military government. However, President Roosevelt had declared that the U. S. Army assume this mission, and his successor, President Truman maintained this policy, so, at least for General Eisenhower and SHAEF, the debate over exercise of authority was clear – the military had the glove and the ball.⁹²

This handbook was unique at the time, in that it not only provided instructions to its users, but also introduced each category with a rather detailed account of the German organization in place, the interface among German agencies, and the process military government personnel should expect to follow while coordinating with German agencies. For example, Chapter XI, Agriculture, Food and Food Distribution, outlined the structure of the agencies, explaining in detail the food rationing system in effect, the calorie allocation, and the food chain process from soil through market, inventory, rationing and on to the consumer. Further, SHAEF objectives and policy for agriculture and food management and “Action to be Taken” in this arena by military government detachment personnel complete the section (see Handbook Table of Contents at Appendix II.1.2).

⁹² General Eisenhower also wrote to President Truman, citing the argument, “Separation of occupational and governmental responsibility is sound just as soon as there is no longer any military or security reason for holding them together, if for no other reason than because of its conformity to the American principle of keeping the Army as such out of the civil government field.” General Eisenhower’s letter, 26 October 1945, to the President is found at the Eisenhower Library, Box 80. President Truman answered, “I am still in complete agreement with you that it is highly desirable so to organize the Army’s current functions in Europe as to facilitate turning U. S. participation in the government of Germany over to civil authority at the earliest possible moment. I can understand the difficulty in recommending an exact date for the transfer but concur in your view that it should be in no event later than June 1, 1946.” Letter, November 2, 1945 from Harry S. Truman to General Dwight D. Eisenhower, from B File, Harry S. Truman Library.

By the end of 1944, SHAEF military government detachments had an official handbook, the U. S. Army continued to focus on the fight, while War and State department planners in Washington continued to develop a post-war occupation policy.

2. Planning Organizations for Occupation Policy.

The rationale for discussing the agencies below involves each group's responsibilities for planning post-war occupation in Germany. Once President Roosevelt decided that the U. S. Army would be responsible not only for security in the U. S. occupation zone but also for American military government in Germany, length of occupation to be determined (later),⁹³ one should expect the occupation package to include policy guidelines, which in turn, would produce logistics requirements. While little of the strategies and few of the policies from the agencies discussed below directly cite Army logistics, "armies march on their stomachs."⁹⁴ What armies need to function comes through their logistics chain. Solid and early policy decisions improve logistics support planning, particularly in this situation when the military forces would run military operations together with occupation duties. Too often, policy decisions for post-hostility actions in Germany, entangled either in internal U. S. agency wrangling or between U. S. and British agencies, were ambiguous or postponed. Small wonder considering the plethora of agencies, committees, lack of authority below presidential and prime ministerial levels, organization cultural differences, as well as differences in national interests.

⁹³ Earl Ziemke uses Department of State, *Foreign Relations, 1944*, Volume I, page 358. President Roosevelt writing to the Secretary of State Cordell Hull in October 1944, "It is all very well for us to make all kinds of preparations for Germany but there are some matters in regard to such treatment that lead me to believe speed in such matters is not an essential . . . I dislike making plans for a country which we do not yet occupy." President Roosevelt waffled with the decision of which U. S. government agency would have primacy in managing the American military government in Germany post-war until 1944. See for example, Warren F. Kimball. *The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesmen* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), Chapters IV and V. See also *Conference of Scholars on the Administration of Occupied Areas, 1943-1955, April 10-11, 1970 at the Harry S. Truman Library*, edited by Professor Donald R. McCoy, Discussion Leader. Independence: The Harry S. Truman Library Institute. 1970, for a roundtable discussion by many of the civilian participants in policy-making, planning and execution of U. S. military government in Germany.

⁹⁴ Attributed unofficially to both Napoleon Bonaparte and Frederick the Great.

The U. S. Government entered into logistics support arrangements with Great Britain, already at war with Germany, as early as mid-1940 by supplying Britain with surplus weapons and ammunition. The U. S. Congress subsequently passed the Lend-Lease Act, 11 March 1941, officially known as “An Act Further to Promote the Defense of the United States.” However, this narrative begins with the Atlantic Charter, drafted between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill in August 1941. The Charter echoed democratic ideology setting goals for a post-war world, although it offered neither wartime nor post-war specific policy or strategy for defeating Germany. As Theodore A. Wilson noted in *The First Summit: Roosevelt and Churchill at Placentia Bay, 1941*,⁹⁵ the British did offer a strategic plan for the defeat of Germany, whereas the U. S. representatives waffled. Verily, the British proposal was always about strategic bombing of Germany, continental blockades and an indirect approach to Germany through the Mediterranean Sea or North Africa. However, the American strategy, especially put forth by General Marshall, suggested that the only way to defeat Germany was directly, under unity of effort and command, on the ground with an Army.

Shortly after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, at the First Washington Conference (ARCADIA), 22 December 1941-14 January 1942, Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt agreed to the establishment of the Combined Chiefs of Staff (CCS).⁹⁶ The initial organization of the Combined Chiefs of Staff centered on a committee of the British heads of the Army, Navy and Air forces and equivalent U. S. representatives - the newly created Joint Chiefs of Staff.⁹⁷ Designed as “the supreme body for strategic direction of

⁹⁵ Theodore A. Wilson, *The First Summit: Roosevelt and Churchill at Placentia Bay, 1941*, rev. ed. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991).

⁹⁶ The term, combined, refers to organizations, plans and/or operations involving two or more nations. Today’s preferred term would be multinational. Joint refers to a military organization comprised of two or more services, e.g., Army and Navy.

⁹⁷ The U. S. representatives: General George Marshall (Chief of Staff of the Army), Admiral Harold L. Stark, shortly replaced by Admiral Ernest J. King, Chief of Naval Operations and Commander in Chief of the U. S. Fleet,

the Anglo-American war effort,”⁹⁸ CCS members or their representatives met, discussed wartime military policy, and advised their respective leaders accordingly. The CCS together with its supportive committees researched and drafted issue and policy papers for the major wartime conferences, for example, Casablanca, Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam. However, while affirming the goals of the Atlantic Charter, and establishing the objective of destroying Hitler and his allies, the CCS products remained ambiguous as far as details on post-war policy for Germany.

One critical detail relative to occupation planning emerged from the Casablanca Conference (SYMBOL), attended by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and their senior military advisors, January 14-24, 1943 – that Germany surrender unconditionally. What would unconditional surrender in Germany look like after total war?⁹⁹ More importantly, what would unconditional surrender look like for the Anglo-American bloc?

“Hear, Hear,” a surprised Prime Minister Churchill exclaimed, according to a special correspondent for *The Times (London)*,¹⁰⁰ upon hearing President Roosevelt drop one of his many verbal bombshells at an afternoon press conference on 24 January 1943, following the Casablanca Conference, announcing that unconditional surrender was the end state of the war with the Axis. Contrary to popular lore, President Roosevelt did not pull this bunny from his hat without prior discussions among members of the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff early in January

and General Henry H. Arnold, Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Air and Chief of the Army Air Corps. Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Staff to the Commander and Chief of the Army and Navy (special advisor to President Roosevelt), joined the team shortly after inception. Upon a suggestion by Admiral Leahy, President Roosevelt adopted a unified U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff to work with the British counterpart. The National Security Act of 1947 officially constituted the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

⁹⁸ Joint Chiefs of Staff Official Web Site. “Origin of Joint Concepts.” <http://www.jcs.mil/page.aspx?id=12>, accessed 2 Apr 2013.

⁹⁹ For discussions on unconditional surrender: Cordell Hull, *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1948), Chapter 113, Unconditional Surrender, 1570-1582; Warren F. Kimball, *The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Maurice Matloff, *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare*, United States Army in World War II Series (Washington, D C: Government Printing Office, 1959), 37- 42; Earl Ziemke, *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946* (Washington, D C: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1975), Chapter IX, Tripartite Agreements.

¹⁰⁰ “Global War Plans Discussed,” *Times* (London, England), 27 January 1943, *The Times Digital Archive* Web, accessed 8 April 2014.

1943. Nonetheless, Roosevelt's concept of the relationship between unconditional surrender and post-war planning never really surfaced other than an oft repeated comment, noted by Maurice Matloff (and others), that the President "explained with emphasis, he did not mean the destruction of the peoples of Germany, Italy, and Japan, but the destruction of the evil philosophies that had taken hold in those lands."¹⁰¹

Representatives of the Big Three did not agree on application of the concept, as seen in the divergence of each of the draft surrender documents.¹⁰² Even within the U. S. planning community, agreement on a surrender document diverged, ranging from an all-inclusive surrender document to a simple surrender statement with detail provided in follow-up directives – ad hoc --as required after the initial surrender. Discussions among and between respective military and diplomatic staffs continued within the European Advisory Commission until representatives produced three working surrender documents, one from each of the Big Three, between January and July 1944, from which the EAC produced one relatively tight surrender document approved by each of the three representatives. In the end, a simple military surrender document was what General Eisenhower pulled out of a desk drawer on 7-8 May 1945 -- acknowledgement by the vanquished that he quit the fight and surrender his state and nation to the victors without conditions. Although, according to Warren F. Kimball, President Roosevelt and perhaps Prime Minister Churchill had more than a simple military victory in mind when President Roosevelt announced the unconditional surrender policy at Casablanca.

¹⁰¹ Matloff, *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare*, 37- 42.

¹⁰² For draft unconditional surrender documents, see *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), Diplomatic Papers 1944, Volume I, General* (Washington, D C: Government Printing Office, 1966). "U. S. Working Security Committee Revised Draft WS-10a, Provisions for Imposition Upon Germany at Time of Surrender, dtd January 4, 1944," 104-109; the British Draft German Armistice (Annex 2), dtd 15 Jan 55, 121-139; the U. S. Army Provost Marshal-Civil Affairs Division draft "Instrument and Acknowledgement of Unconditional Surrender of German," 5 Feb 44, 168-170; the Soviet draft, "Draft Terms of Surrender for Germany, Submitted to the Commission by the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," dtd 18 Feb 44, 173-179; the European Advisory Commission document, "Unconditional Surrender of Germany," dtd 25 Jul 44, 256-261.

Called a policy by some, principle by others and part of the American grand strategy for prosecuting the war by the Roosevelt camp, historians continued to discuss and debate the meaning of and circumstances that influenced the development of the concept and implementation of unconditional surrender decades after the end of the war. Perhaps Warren F. Kimball, with the advantage of hindsight, got to the root of the matter.

Unconditional surrender may have been, at one level, a commitment to the Soviet Union, but it also should be seen as a major foreign policy statement made by the Anglo-Americans without consulting or even advising Stalin. A decision to pursue a non-compromise peace was more than a military decision. It posited the destruction of Germany as a major European power and worked from the premise that the Anglo-Americans could run the postwar show.¹⁰³

Further, Kimball suggested three convincing arguments supporting this statement. First, at least for President Roosevelt, unconditional surrender provided the only viable tool to de-Prussianize German society, and revamp it, moving the Germans “out of the industrial age into contact with their honest, peaceful, Jeffersonian roots.”¹⁰⁴ Second, the policy of unconditional surrender assuaged the Soviets of the Anglo-American intent to stay the course of the war. Finally, unconditional surrender would eschew the *Dolchstoßlegende* (Stab in the Back Legend) that mushroomed after World War I, and initially claimed by the German Imperial Army -- that [German] civilian government leaders and a war-weary population were responsible for Germany’s defeat.¹⁰⁵ This time, however, after World War II ended, Germany as a nation and its population would be compelled to take responsibility for Hitler and the Nazi regime’s crimes.

Prior experience with a military occupation in Germany after World War I suggested a standing German government in place and relatively little on-the-ground infrastructure damage at war’s end. Asked in many corridors in Washington to include the White House, “Would a

¹⁰³ Warren F. Kimball, *The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 76-77.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 76.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

central German government remain intact after this surrender,” seems a strange question after promoting a policy of unconditional surrender and effectively a total war to the end. Nonetheless, this question remained unanswered until at least the onset of Operation OVERLORD. Moreover, each of the political leaders formed a different understanding of unconditional surrender. Furthermore, transcripts from the October 1943 Moscow Foreign Ministers’ Conference (attended by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Foreign Minister Anthony Eden and Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov), the preparatory conference preceding the Teheran Conference (EUREKA), indicate either the inability or undesirability of the Foreign Ministers to agree on what post-war occupied Germany might look like. Even though the three foreign ministers could not quite agree on particulars, they appeared to advocate a softer-peace along the lines proposed by U. S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull,¹⁰⁶ unlike their three leaders, President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill, in discussions at the Tehran Conference later that year, all of whom favored a hard peace.¹⁰⁷

The European Advisory Commission (EAC) evolved from the Moscow Foreign Ministers’ Conference with the realization by the three Foreign Ministers, Cordell Hull, Vyacheslav Molotov and Anthony Eden, that treatment of Germany as an occupied country after its unconditional surrender required more time and thought than the two-week conference could provide. Further, planning for postwar Germany had to include the Soviet Union, explaining why the CCS, the combined British-American committee, could not officially plan for or recommend occupation policy. The EAC, with Sir William Strange representing Great Britain,

¹⁰⁶ For Secretary of State Cordell Hull’s proposal, “The Treatment of Germany,” presented at the Moscow Conference, see *Foreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic Papers, The Conferences of Cairo and Tehran, 1943*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1961), 183-186.

¹⁰⁷ Hull, *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull*, Chapter 92: Moscow Conference Begins, 1284-1287, and Chapter 113, Unconditional Surrender, 1570-1582. Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins: an Intimate History*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), 782, 786-787, 797-798. Additionally, *Foreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic Papers, The Conferences of Cairo and Tehran, 1943* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1961), Tripartite Dinner Meeting, November 28, 1943, 509-514.

Feodor T. Gusev representing the Soviet Union, and John G. Winant representing the United States, met informally in December 1943 after Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin approved formation of the EAC as a working group at the Tehran Conference (28 November – 1 December 1943). The Tehran Conference itself focused on strategic issues – particularly agreement on the opening of a second front in Western Europe (Operation OVERLORD, in northern France, May 1944), and postwar partition of Germany into occupation zones, the latter issue given to the newly approved EAC to research and advise back to the leaders. Thus, two years into the war, discussion on the terms of unconditional surrender, the control machinery to insure surrender compliance, and the establishment of occupation zones at termination of the fighting began.¹⁰⁸

Tasked to plan and formulate recommendations on postwar policy for the three governments, the EAC finally filled the gap and assumed a role that the CCS could not fill given the reality of Soviet non-participation. The EAC held its first formal meeting in London on 14 January 1944. U. S. Secretary of State Hull had raised several key issues at the October 1943 Moscow Conference: rights of the occupation powers, reparations, status of the German military after surrender, the direction of economic and political reorganization of Germany, and quite possibly the most important question to be resolved, would Germany be dismembered or decentralized? The Commission tackled three immediate issues and recommended an instrument of unconditional surrender (July 1944), the initial division of post-surrender Germany into three

¹⁰⁸ For insight into the birth of the European Advisory Commission (EAC), see Bruce Kuklick, “The Genesis of the European Advisory Commission,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 4, no. 4. (October 1969): 189-201; also, Ziemke, *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946*, Set-up of EAC, 37-40; Control Machinery, 126-132; Preparation of the surrender conditions, 109-115. Additionally, for the initial documents pertaining to the set-up and work of the EAC, see: *Foreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic Papers, The Conferences of Cairo and Tehran, 1943* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1961), for set-up of the EAC, 352-354, 442-447; Assistant Secretary of Defense John McCloy to Ambassador to the United Kingdom, John G. Winant on an initial agenda for the EAC, 773-775. Also, for products of EAC: *Foreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic Papers*, Volume I, General, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1961), particularly pages 100-109, the British proposals on surrender and zones, 110-154; the Soviet Union proposal on surrender terms, 173-179, and the EAC proposed surrender document, 241-272.

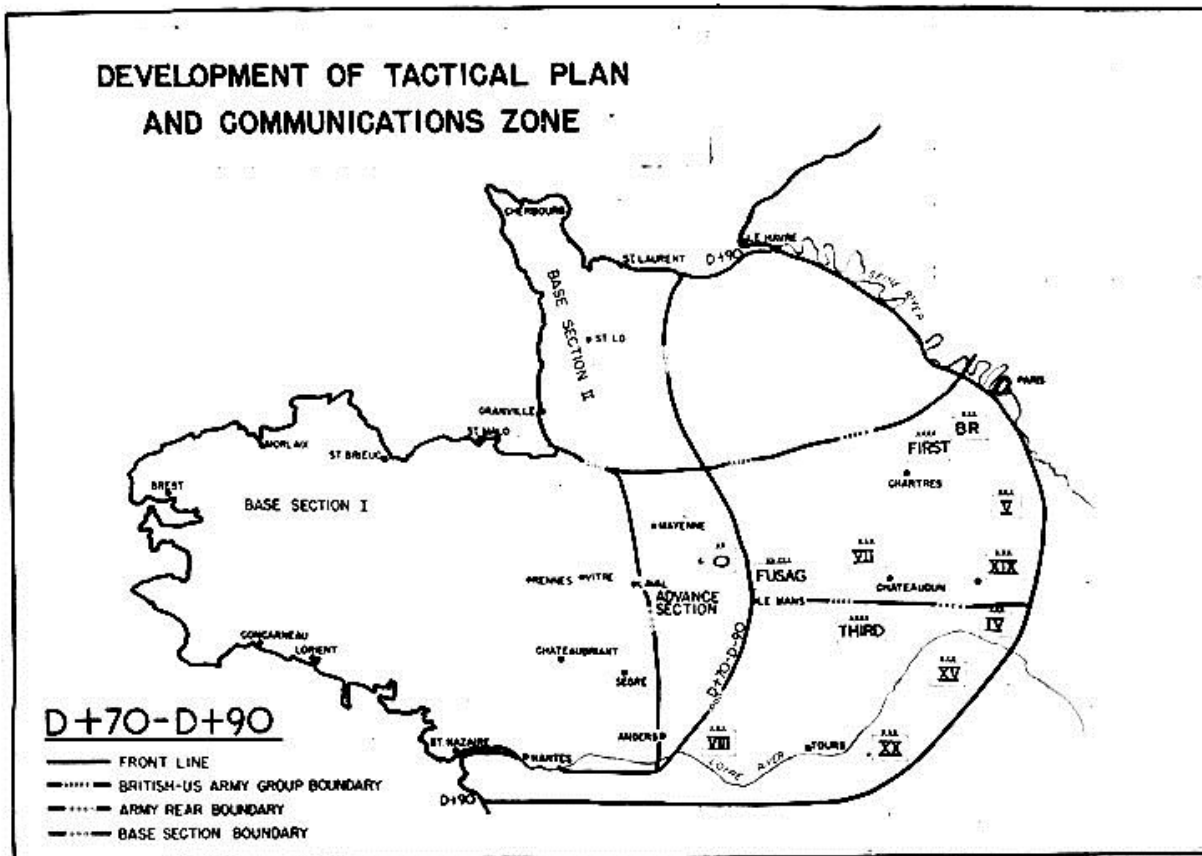
occupation zones (September 1944) and formation of tripartite control machinery (the Allied Control Commission) to establish common occupation policy (November 1944). However, the EAC could only discuss, negotiate and recommend. Reaching agreements often required a multitude of back-and-forth meetings, conversations and instructions from the respective governments, and ultimately a unanimous decision from the three governments. The key issue of a strategic occupation policy dragged behind the operational timetable.¹⁰⁹

As of spring, 1944 and the impending D-Day, when boots of soldiers of the Western Allies would shortly come ashore on the northwestern coast of France, General Eisenhower still had no post-hostilities policy from which to plan for the occupation of Germany. His combined headquarters, Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) could only plan for pre-surrender military occupation and his nominal American Headquarters, European Theater of Operations, United States Army (ETOUSA) served primarily as an administrative headquarters. Because the EAC had not produced an agreed-upon occupation policy, General Eisenhower, concerned about tactical forces fighting into Germany with no agreed upon rules of engagement, recommended to General Marshall that an organization be formed to work together with British and Soviet counterparts along with the EAC on developing a policy. The U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff approved the recommendation and by mid-July, the U. S. Group Control Council assembled in London to formulate occupation policy for U. S. military government in Germany.

Time was running out. A notable assumption was that occupation of Germany could begin after D+90 (5 September 1944). While OVERLORD planning timetables called for

¹⁰⁹ *Foreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic Papers*, Volume I, General (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1961), the EAC proposed surrender document, 241-272. U. S. Department of State, *Documents on Germany, 1944-1985* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1985), on occupation zones 12 Sep and 14 Nov 1944, 1-5; on Control Machinery in Germany, 14 Nov 44, 6-9 and amendment thereto, 1 May 1945, 12-13.

Western forces to be in Paris by D+90,¹¹⁰ they actually arrived toward the end of August, and the first American troops crossed into Germany, south of Aachen, on 11 September 1944. The map below depicts the line of Western forces in France up to D+90 (around 4 September 1944).¹¹¹



To this point on the timeline, policy and guidance on what German occupation might look like remained sparse. August-September 1944 proved to be profitable months for the generation of policy guidance, however. Reviewing the state of occupation planning by July 1944, the British and Americans at Casablanca (1943) agreed on unconditional surrender; and the EAC, approved as a tripartite advisory group at Tehran, produced an unconditional surrender document by July 1944. The British and the U. S. governments – separately - established early

¹¹⁰ U. S. Army Center of Military History. Outline of Operation OVERLORD. Paragraph 5, Phase II. File No. 8-3.4 AA v.7. www.history.army.mil/documents/WWII/g4-OL/g4.ol.htm accessed 1 July 2014.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

versions of an occupation control council/commission to oversee occupation government, and awaited the Soviet team arrival in London. The U. S. War Department, under the Provost Marshal Directorate developed a draft *Handbook for Military Government in Germany*. Describing progress over the next six months or so proves to be somewhat murky depending on sources used. At this point, a military person might suggest, “Shit hit the fan,” on development of occupation policy.

The Handbook for Military Government in Germany somehow made its way into Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau’s hands, during a short trip to London in August 1944. Although up to this point, Morgenthau’s involvement with occupation planning revolved around financial issues, he had prepared his own memorandum on occupation policy. Upon his return to Washington, Morgenthau forwarded the Handbook along with his critique (essentially negative; Morgenthau thought the Handbook too soft on the Germans) to President Roosevelt, who sent the Handbook to the Secretary of War, Henry Stimson, with comments and the order to pull back any copies already distributed. The then-sequestered Handbook floated among several agencies in Washington until a revised and approved copy surfaced in December 1944 as a SHAEF document, under the title, *Handbook for Military Government in Germany Prior to Defeat or Surrender*.

As mentioned above, Morgenthau had prepared his own memorandum on occupation policy, “Program to Prevent Germany from starting a World War III,” a program that Roosevelt favored enough to approach Prime Minister Churchill about at the Second Quebec Conference (OCTAGON), 12-16 September 1944. Churchill initially accepted Morgenthau’s basic plan to deindustrialize Germany, supposedly in a trade-off, to receive from the U. S. \$6.5 billion in

financial aid.¹¹² Additionally, Roosevelt finally agreed on the last day of the conference to take the southwestern zone, leaving the northwestern zone (the primary industrial zone in western Germany) with the British. Included in the agreement, the U. S. Forces would have access to both ports, Bremerhaven and Bremen (in the British Zone), along with transit rights between Bremerhaven, Bremen and south to the U. S. occupation zone.

Further, between September and November 1944, the European Advisory Commission approved the “Protocol on Zones of Occupation in Germany and the Administration of the Greater Berlin Area,” 12 September 1944, and the “Agreement on Control Machinery [Allied Control Council] in Germany,” 14 November 1944. Finally, the War Department had enough information for work to begin on post-war military plans, the key document, the Directive to the Commander in Chief U. S. Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany (JCS 1067/8), discussed in Section 2, below.

The last tripartite conference before Germany surrendered – the Yalta Conference (ARGONAUT) in the Crimea, 4-11 February 1945, seemed an anticlimax after that last few months’ turmoil in Washington and the military operations from France into Germany between June 1944 and January 1945. The Conference Protocol covered numerous topics concerning post-war Europe and Japan, but relative to occupied Germany, relatively little new. The three leaders approved the EAC recommendations (September and November 1944) for the

¹¹² Hull, *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull*, Volume II, 1614-1617. Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, *On Active Service in Peace and War* (New York: Harper & Brother, 1948), 567-584. Ziemke, *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946*, 106, 212. Eugene Davidson, *The Death and Life of Germany: an Account of the American Occupation* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1959), 6, 11, 37. Frederick H. Gareau, “Morgenthau’s Plan for Industrial Disarmament in Germany,” *The Western Political Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (June 1961): 517-519. Editorials, *Time*, “The Policy of Hate,” October 2, 1944. “The Battle for Peace Terms,” October 9, 1944.

dismemberment of Germany into zones of occupation with a fourth occupation zone for France, carved from the British and American zones.¹¹³

The last Big Three conference, the Potsdam Conference, 18 July-2 August 1945, fell between the two surrenders – Germany and Japan. The primary subject under discussion concerned administering Germany under occupation. According to Earl Ziemke,¹¹⁴ the three leaders, Truman, Attlee and Stalin, agreed on and tasked the Control Council [Allied Control Council] with two missions: to administer occupied Germany as an economic unit and to establish a level of industry for Germany. Both missions appear in the Potsdam Protocol, published on 2 August 1945, discussed in Section 3, below. Additionally, the Council of Foreign Ministers replaced the European Advisory Council.

The Council of Foreign Ministers, a product of the Potsdam Conference, convened in five quadripartite sessions between September 1945 (London)¹¹⁵ and November/December 1947 (Moscow)¹¹⁶ with little to no progress on implementing key Potsdam Protocol provisions particularly in the areas of reparations, economic unity among the four occupation zones, boundaries and a peace treaty with Germany. As Daniel Yergin noted in his narrative, *Shattered*

¹¹³ U. S. Department of State *Documents on Germany, 1944-1985* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1985), on occupation zones 12 Sep and 14 Nov 1944, 1-5.

¹¹⁴ Ziemke. *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany 1944-1946*, 342-345.

¹¹⁵ The Council of Foreign Ministers, established under the Potsdam Protocol (paragraph I), met as a group of four (France, Great Britain, United States and Soviet Union) five times between September 1945 and December 1947. The Soviet representation at the Allied Control Council, walked out on 20 March 1948, curtailing official Quadripartite Council meetings until after the Berlin Blockade ended in 1949. The sixth session, the last before the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany, met between 23 May and 20 June 1949 – with Soviet participation. However, the Council of Foreign Ministers reached little concrete agreement on German issues. As President Truman noted in his 21 June 1948 communiqué, “It must be frankly admitted that despite the forward-looking program sponsored by the Western powers as a basis for unification, little progress was made. The Soviet Union . . . sought a return to Potsdam and its system, which the Russians had rendered unworkable by their misuse of the unlimited veto. They refused to recognize the important progress which has been made in Western Germany since 1945.”

¹¹⁶ Dates of the six Council of Foreign Minister conferences prior to establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany in Sep 1949: 11 Sep-2 Oct 1945, London; 25 Apr-16 May and 16 June-12 Jul 1946 (Paris); 4 Nov-11 Dec 1946 (New York); 10 Mar-24 Apr 1947 (Moscow); 25 Nov-15 Dec 1947 (London); 23 May-20 Jun 1949, Paris).

Peace, the Origins of the Cold War,¹¹⁷ from beginning to end, that is, from the first council meeting in September 1945 to the fifth session in December 1947, neither the British nor the Americans could agree with the Soviets that Russian reparations be paid from current German production. Failure to resolve this issue ultimately precluded a German peace settlement, of which reparations and unity, particularly economic unity, remained a large part. Non-compliance with the economic unity provision of the Potsdam Protocol, a sticking point between the British and the U. S. on one side, and the Soviet Union and French on the other, exacerbated further resource inequalities in all zones, and thus German economic recovery.

The Office of Military Government United States in Germany (OMGUS) officially replaced the U. S. Group Control Council as the U. S. Government representative at the Allied Control Council (ACC), on 1 October 1945. The Potsdam Protocol acknowledged the ACC as the overall governing body for occupied Germany (revalidating the decision made during the Yalta Conference), responsible for Germany's central administration as well as for promulgating policy to establish a certain level of uniform governance in the four occupation zones. Each of the occupation forces -- Great Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States and France -- sat at the ACC table, with equal representation. Unfortunately, resolving issues proved difficult under the consensus requirement established under the Potsdam Protocol. Walter Dorn, in his discussion of wartime consultations characterized development of occupation policy, as "a policy of drift."

¹¹⁸ The same could apply to ACC efforts during the four-year military occupation period, as the ACC had no enforcement powers. Each occupation power could interpret the Potsdam Protocol within the parameters of its own national interests within their zones of occupation.

¹¹⁷ Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace: the Origins of the Cold War* (1977; rev., New York: Penguin Books USA Inc., 1990), 122-132, 221-232, 258-260, 282-301, 329-334, 366-391.

¹¹⁸ Walter L. Dorn, "The Debate over American Occupation Policy in Germany in 1944-1945," *Political Science Quarterly* LXXII, no. 4 (December 1957): 481-501.

3. Executing Occupation Government: Planning Decisions and Documents.

Three planning products framed U. S. occupation policy in Germany after surrender: the Protocol of the Proceedings of the Berlin Conference (Potsdam Protocol), August 1945 and the two *Directives to Commander in Chief of United States Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany*, Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) Directive 1067 in May 1945, and JCS 1779 in July 1947. More importantly for this study, these planning products represented strategic level theater operations plans for U. S. military forces in occupied Germany, products from which U. S. military commanders could develop mission statements (see Chapter III). Mission statements provide the embryo for logistics planning. Furthermore, although no specific end date for occupation appears in any of these documents, both political and military planners make assumptions, one being in this case, at least initially, “Occupation will end when either the conditions of the Potsdam Protocol or a Peace Settlement is reached – whichever comes first.”

The Potsdam Protocol, a diplomatic document signed by Stalin, Truman and Attlee, set the overall requirements for administration of occupied Germany. Only the *Directives to Commander in Chief of United States Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany*, JCS 1067 and its successor, JCS 1779, gave official U. S. War Department guidance to U. S. Army planners developing occupation policy for U. S. Forces. JCS 1067 guided the U. S. occupation government in Germany between 1945 and 1947, when JCS 1779 replaced it. In-the-works as early as mid-1944, and quietly¹¹⁹ issued to General Eisenhower in

¹¹⁹ The War Department publicly released JCS 1067 on 17 October 1945, at the urging of Henry Morgenthau to President Truman, (message dated Oct 6, 10.19 AM 1945). According to a *State Department Bulletin*, October 17, 1945, “The directive was issued originally in April 1945, and was intended to serve two purposes. It was to guide General Eisenhower in the military government of that portion of Germany occupied by United States Forces. At that time he was directed to urge the Control Council to adopt JCS 1067 policies for enforcement throughout Germany.”

April 1945, JCS1067 preceded and, according to historic sources actually heavily influenced the content of the Potsdam Protocol.

Disquieted by the snail-like progress of the European Advisory Commission (EAC) in developing a tripartite occupation policy, the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff created the Joint Post-War Committee (JPWC) in June 1944 to work on post-war military plans. This committee, like the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF) staff did not represent a tripartite group (the EAC), but required and could obtain most quickly from General Eisenhower recommendations on the best path to take initially, at least for U. S. military forces, in defeated Germany. Hoping to provide a document to the EAC, the JPWC and SHAEF planners selected Directive TALISMAN for a starting point. As Earl Ziemke noted however, TALISMAN, the only approved post-surrender guidance for Combined Forces (British and U. S.) assumed a Germany politically and economically intact. By August 1944, General Eisenhower and SHAEF planners gravely doubted a German government would survive to surrender.

While each set of planners – the Americans in Washington and the British in London -- jostled to become the key planning agency for post-surrender occupied Germany policy development, the U. S. Army Provost Marshal, Civil Affairs Division (CAD) pursued drafting the *Handbook for Military Government*. CAD forwarded the draft Handbook to SHAEF and CAD staff in London for reviews. In the process, the draft Handbook caught the eye of Secretary of the Treasury Henry L. Morgenthau, a close confidant of President Roosevelt. The tone of the Handbook struck Morgenthau as decidedly too soft on the Germans, particularly with respect to economic issues and deindustrialization. Morgenthau, as noted in the Section 1 above, provided his critique of the Handbook, based on his study, “Program to Prevent Germany from

Starting a World War III,”¹²⁰ to Roosevelt. Roosevelt sided with Morgenthau’s critique. Shortly thereafter, Roosevelt directed standing up a Cabinet Committee on Germany with the Secretaries of War, State and Treasury to develop a post-surrender policy for Germany – their first product, a template for JCS 1067. Parts of Secretary Morgenthau’s study, particularly his economic recommendations, became not only the blueprint for JCS Directive 1067 and later the Potsdam Protocol, but also the key point of discussion between Roosevelt and Churchill at the Second Quebec Conference, 12-16 September 1944. Secretary Morgenthau in his study suggested a program of fourteen points, four briefly discussed here.¹²¹

Demilitarization, partitioning, restitution and reparations, control of the Ruhr and the surrounding industrial areas, as portrayed by Secretary Morgenthau, would have resulted in pastoralization of Germany – leaving the country reduced to little more than agricultural plots of land and cottage industries, unable to sustain the population and dependent on the Allies for logistical support. As noted in the previous chapter, Germany historically depended on its exports of steel, coal and manufactured items to import raw resources and food requirements for its population. However, Secretary Morgenthau felt that complete deindustrialization offered the only way to prevent Germany from launching another war.

These political decisions in Washington, advanced by Morgenthau and his supporters, and based on a hard peace concept, call to question the bases used by the U. S. Government in formulating its post-surrender occupation position. The Morgenthau course would drastically reduce the German industrial capability, certainly checkmating Germany’s ability to re-militarize, but crush its ability to meet domestic heating, feeding and reconstruction requirements

¹²⁰Henry Morgenthau, Jr., *Germany is Our Problem* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1945). Photographic copy preceding preface, ix.

¹²¹ Ibid. The text of Secretary Morgenthau’s suggested program is at the beginning of his study, cited in the above footnote.

from its own resources. Further, reducing Germany's industrial capacity stunted European recovery, as European countries relied heavily on German coal, steel and industrially manufactured products. The other course, favored by both Secretary of War Harry L. Stimson and Secretary of State Cordell Hull would enable Germany industrially, albeit with severe restrictions pointed toward remilitarization. This option would provide the optimal course for a quicker European recovery even though it risked German remilitarization. Clearly, the decision danced between thwarting or enabling Germany industrially and economically. President Roosevelt opted for the first course of action, thwarting German reindustrialization. The impact of this decision laid the groundwork for the build-up of U. S. Army logistics support in Germany as the U. S. Government through its agent, the U. S. Army, supplied much of the resource shortages – food, building materials and fuel, medical and other technical assistance – for several years after the war.

JCS Directive 1067 acknowledged unconditional surrender after the total defeat of Germany as the only possible outcome of the war. Furthermore, the tone set in the first section of the JCS 1067 clearly placed responsibility for the war on the German population as a whole.

It should be brought home to the Germans that Germany's ruthless warfare and the fanatical Nazi resistance have destroyed the German economy and made chaos and suffering inevitable and that the Germans cannot escape responsibility for what they have brought upon themselves.

Germany will not be occupied for the purpose of liberation but as a defeated enemy nation. Your aim is not oppression but to occupy Germany for the purpose of realizing certain important Allied objectives. In the conduct of your occupation and administration you should be just but firm and aloof. You will strongly discourage fraternization with the German officials and population.¹²²

¹²² Velma Hastings Cassidy, compiler. U. S. Department of State, Division of Historical Policy Research, Office of Public Affairs, "Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U. S. Forces of Occupation (JCS 1067)." *Germany 1947-1949, The Story in Documents* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1950), 23.

JCS 1067 ordered the demilitarization, denazification, and deindustrialization of Germany – nice political terms, but not well-practiced Army missions. These measures required U. S. Army logistics support on the ground in occupied Germany, but not before basic recovery began. First, Allied strategic air and ground attacks resulted in collapse of virtually every segment of German industry and communal life. Scores of U. S. Army engineer and other logistics units engaged in food relief, temporary repair to utilities, transportation resources, bridge, road, waterways, and debris removal.

Second, JCS 1067, Part I, Paragraphs 4 and 5, provide the Basic Objectives of the Military Government in Germany, in particular, enforcement of the program of reparations, restitution and relief for countries devastated by Nazi aggression, and providing for the welfare and eventual repatriation of Displaced Persons. Additionally, the U. S. Zone Commander had the authority to impose controls he deemed necessary as “essential to protect the safety and meet the needs of the occupying forces and assure the production and maintenance of foods and services required to prevent starvation or such disease and unrest as would endanger these [occupation] forces.” Furthermore, the Zone Commander could not put into effect in any way measures that would “support living conditions in Germany or in your zone on a higher level than that existing in any one of the neighboring United Nations.”¹²³

JCS 1067, Part II, paragraphs 16-43, Economic: General Objectives and Methods of Control, by-and-large the most oppressive section of JCS 1067, take the tone of Morgenthau’s recommendations to Roosevelt. The Potsdam Protocol, Section II B, paragraphs 11-19 Economic Principles, mirrors this section. The cornerstone to this segment of JCS 1067, indeed, in the Directive, lies in the clause:

¹²³ Ibid., 23-24.

Economic controls will be imposed only to the extent necessary to accomplish these objectives provided that you will impose controls to the full extent necessary to achieve the industrial disarmament of Germany. Except as may be necessary to carry out these objectives, you will take no steps (a) looking toward the economic rehabilitation of Germany, or (b) designed to maintain or strengthen the German economy.¹²⁴

However, the paradox: complying with one mission, i.e., to return Germany to even the minimum living conditions of surrounding European countries (excluding Great Britain and the USSR) required some measure of economic rehabilitation. JCS 1067 required occupation forces to regulate German resources to the degree that minimal consumption precluded the need to import. Surplus resources would then support the Occupying Forces, Displaced Persons, United Nations prisoners of war, and serve as reparations.¹²⁵ What surplus? The indigenous German population could not even support its own food requirements in the first months after the surrender, much less the requirements of the Displaced Persons, prisoners of war or occupation forces. The U. S. Government continued to ship to Germany millions of tons of relief supplies, debatably a violation of JCS 1067 provisions, for over a year after the end of the war. U. S. Army logistics personnel in France, The Netherlands and Germany picked up the workload of transloading the material from ships to train or truck for transport to final destinations, storage, inventory control, and issue. Additionally, JCS 1067, Part II required that occupation forces insure that power, transportation and communications facilities supported the overall objectives of the Occupying Forces. Initially, this task required U. S. Army personnel, fuel, as well as repair parts and other types of support.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 27.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

Third, the Allied Control Council failed to enforce critical sections of the Potsdam Protocol. Conjointly, the levels of industry¹²⁶ established under the Potsdam Protocol and ensuing Allied Control and Foreign Minister Council meetings acknowledged the uneven distribution of resources among the occupation zones – hence the necessity for economic unity. The Potsdam Protocol, Section II B, paragraph 14 established the principle of economic unity within Germany during the occupation. The areas specifically noted included: mining, industrial production and its allocation, agriculture, fishing, forestry, wages, prices and rationing, import and export programs for Germany as a whole, currency and banking, central taxation and customs, reparation and removal of industrial war potential, transportation and communications. Further, Potsdam Protocol, Section II B, paragraph 15(c) specified that the Allied Control Council establish controls to ensure that “equitable distribution of essential commodities between the several zones so as to produce a balanced economy throughout Germany and reduce the need for imports.”¹²⁷ The particular control referred to here, establishment of a level of industry for Germany, would set a production capacity the country as a whole needed for subsistence. Excess capacity would go towards reparations. The U. S. occupation zone, for example, had few raw materials. The region had traditionally relied on exporting finished industrial products to provide the raw materials needed for production and food products necessary for the region. The same situation applied to the British occupation zone, only the swap was coal and steel for food. The critical breadbasket of Germany – Silesia, Pommern, and East Prussia lay in Soviet and Polish hands, under the Potsdam Protocol, Sections V and VIII until the Allies reached a final determination of a peace settlement over these boundaries. The

¹²⁶ This term was decided upon by Allied Control Council members and their advising economists to define the amount of production for export Germany would be allowed in order to cover the costs of necessary imports, primarily food supplies as well as raw resources for small industry manufacturing.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 50.

Soviets refused to comply with Protocol directives on two grounds: first, the breadbasket region, no longer came under the umbrella of occupied Germany; second, the Soviet Zone did not produce excess food to redistribute in other parts of occupied Germany. Members of the Allied Control Council could not reach consensus on execution of the economic unity principle in the Protocol. General Clay,¹²⁸ by the late spring, 1946, ordered discontinuance of dismantling reparations-marked plants except those already approved for advance delivery, until the Soviets complied with Potsdam Protocol Section II B, paragraph 15(c) to exchange foodstuffs from their occupation zone to the other three zones.

Failure to comply with the provisions of the Protocol resulted in unequal distribution of resources among the three western occupation zones, forcing the British and the Americans to provide relief to both the German population and Displaced Persons within their zones from their national accounts. The establishment of economic unity as foreseen in the Protocol and supported in JCS 1067 could have lessened the burden of resources support on U. S. military forces and even possibly shortened the period of military occupation.

Fourth, at least for the first summer, labor, horse and farm equipment shortages affected harvesting. Non-repatriated Displaced Persons, used as labor during the war, refused to continue working on the farms after surrender. Manufacturing new equipment often conflicted with ACC restrictions; even without restrictions, shortage of raw materials proved enough to preclude full-scale resumption of manufacturing. Planting for the next year's harvest faced shortages of seed and fertilizer.

Fifth, unlike the humanitarian actions with regard to the above efforts, weather bestowed the final blow that brought Germany to its knees during the first two years of the occupation.

¹²⁸ General Lucius D. Clay was the U. S. Occupation Deputy Military Governor between October 1945 and March 1947, when he replaced General McNarney as the Military Governor, serving until his departure in May 1949.

The summers of 1945 and 1946 witnessed droughts that significantly lowered harvest yields. Additionally, Germany (as did much of the continent and the British Isles) experienced its two longest and coldest winters in decades. The poor harvests could not support the population during the first two years after surrender. In each of these circumstances in the U. S. occupation zone, the U. S. Army intervened, at least temporarily, often together with the German population, to stabilize or resolve; maneuver around directives; or actually repair breakdowns in critical logistics arenas, e.g., providing U. S. Army transportation to bring in the harvest.

Obviously, U. S. military forces found themselves and their missions as hampered by the wartime destruction as the local population. The military forces had to live in the midst of the destruction, move around and complete their security and supply missions while also engaging in repair and rebuilding facilities. However, U. S. military forces had access to resources: transportation, communications, food, POL (petroleum, oil and lubricants) products and a supply base able to provide more resources. Thus, despite the restrictions of JCS 1067 and the Potsdam Protocol, the U. S. Army in providing for its own resupply, contiguously aided the recovery of German infrastructure – in particular, roads, rail, bridges, waterways, utilities and other infrastructure. This subject is discussed extensively in a later chapter.

As Vladimir Petrov noted, implementation of a Morgenthauian “harsh peace” toward occupied Germany, represented in JCS 1067, possibly “delayed by several years the economic reconstruction of the war-torn continent, a reconstruction which subsequently cost the United States billions of dollars,”¹²⁹ not to mention a longer occupation. Something had to change. U. S. Secretary of State John Byrnes ushered in the change in U. S. policy toward occupied Germany by professing in September 1946 that the recovery of Europe depended on the recovery

¹²⁹ Vladimir Petrov, *Money and Conquest: Allied Occupation Currencies in World War II* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), 263.

of Germany. Most importantly for the U. S. military, he committed the U. S. Army to service in Germany for as long as it took to ensure full recovery.

Security forces will probably have to remain in Germany for a long period. I want no misunderstanding. We will not shirk our duty. We are not withdrawing. We are staying here. As long as there is an occupation army in Germany, American armed forces will be part of that occupation army.¹³⁰

This speech, given in Stuttgart, Germany some fifteen months after the war's end to a gathering of American military governor administrators and German officials together, repudiated a number of the harsher precepts of JCS Directive 1067.¹³¹ The most important points in the speech appear to have come from a memorandum sent by General Lucius Clay to Secretary of State Byrnes as early as May 1946.¹³² General Clay called attention to the problems in Germany noting the increased communist propaganda coming out from the Soviet occupation zone, suggesting the need for a positive public statement on U. S. policy in Europe in general and Germany in particular. In his memorandum, General Clay listed the following issues as critical to the successful implementation of the occupation policies called for in the Potsdam Protocol, albeit not [yet] implemented at the Allied Control Council level. Specifically, Clay noted that the Potsdam Protocol called for treatment of Germany as an economic unit. This required the establishment of key central administrative agencies in the areas of transportation, communications, food, agriculture, and industry; free trade and a common financial policy within Germany to curb inflation; and finally, a decision on how to administer the Ruhr and

¹³⁰ Velma Hastings Cassidy, compiler, *Germany 1947-1949, The Story in Documents*, 7.

¹³¹ According to Robert Murphy, career-diplomat with the U. S. Department of State, and General Clay's political advisor between 1945 and 1949, "This gathering had particular significance because German officials were invited to Stuttgart to meet with Americans in a public place for the first time since surrender." *Diplomat among Warriors*, (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1964), 303.

¹³² Lucius D. Clay, *Decision in Germany* (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1950), 78.

Rhineland industrial areas.¹³³ These points formed the core of Secretary of State Byrnes' Stuttgart speech.

Perhaps due to the logjam in reaching consensus on these critical issues within the Allied Control Council, but certainly due to the urging of both General Clay and his political advisor, Robert Murphy, Secretary of State Byrnes resolutely confirmed in his speech:

The time has come when zonal boundaries should be regarded as defining only the areas to be occupied for security purposes by the armed forces of the occupying powers and not as self-contained economic or political units. That was the course of development envisioned by the Potsdam Agreement, and that is the course of development which the American Government intends to follow to the full limit of its authority. It had formally announced that it is its intention to unify the economy of its own zone with any or all of the other zones willing to participate in the unification. So far only the British Government has agreed to let its zone participate. . . . Of course, this policy of unification will be open to them at any time they wish to join.¹³⁴

Even prior to Secretary of State Byrnes' speech, General Clay and Robert Murphy, through their chains of command, urged replacing JCS Directive 1067 with a milder directive. However, as the wheels of government move slowly, the U. S. Government officially issued the change, *Directive to the Commander in Chief of U.S. Forces of Occupation (JCS 1779)*, on 11 July 1947.

More than two years after Victory-in-Europe Day (V-E Day), the more humanitarian policy statement, JCS 1779, announced that while the U. S. occupation government would continue to focus on disarming and demilitarizing Germany, and would stay the course in Germany as long as even one other occupier was present, its efforts would converge toward establishment of a stable and prosperous Europe. To reach this goal the War Department¹³⁵ directed the U. S. Commander in Chief of United States Forces of Occupation (Germany) "to lay

¹³³ Ibid., 73-77.

¹³⁴ Velma Hastings Cassidy, compiler, *Germany 1947-1949, The Story in Documents*, 5.

¹³⁵ At this time, Robert P. Patterson was the U. S. Secretary of the War Department, 27 September 1945 to 18 July 1947.

the economic and educational bases of sound German democracy, of encouraging bona fide democratic efforts, prohibiting those activities that would jeopardize genuinely democratic developments.”¹³⁶

Moreover, JCS 1779 charged the Office of Military Government, United States in Germany (OMGUS) with promoting “the development in Germany of institutions of popular self-government and the assumption of direct responsibility by German governmental agencies, assuring them legislative, judicial and executive powers, consistent with military security and the purposes of the occupation.”¹³⁷ While the JCS 1779 script still advocated federal German states with limited centralized government, it also acknowledged to the Commander-in-Chief that, “Your Government believes finally that, within the principles stated above, the ultimate constitutional form of German political life should be left to the decision of the German people made freely in accordance with democratic processes.”¹³⁸ Within this framework, several explicit logistics support missions evolved for the U. S. Army, in addition to assisting with demilitarization and disarmament. Had the U. S. Army ever faced the overwhelming amount of logistics support required not only to keep U. S. forces supported in occupied Germany, but also to meet the requirements of the Potsdam Protocol and the JCS directives?

One of the principal missions for the U. S. Army continued under JCS Directive 1779: support of the United Nations International Refugee Organization (IRO) until 1952, for the maintenance, care, protection, and eventually movement of Displaced Persons and refugees. At least 132 Displaced Persons camps housing anywhere between 4,100,000 in July 1945, and 333,118 in July 1947, and two IRO vocational training schools existed within the U. S.

¹³⁶ Department of State Publication 3556, *Germany 1947-1949: the Story in Documents*, Section IV, paragraph 5, JCS 1779 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1950), 34. JCS 1779, sent to General Clay by the Joint Chiefs of Staff; approved through the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC).

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, Section IV, paragraph 6a. 35.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

occupation zone at various times during the military occupation.¹³⁹ A second mission, equally monumental, involved assisting German authorities in establishing resettlement programs for the German-extraction Expellees forced out of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, in accordance with the JCS 1067, Part I, Paragraph 4 (d) and Potsdam Protocol, Section XII. Chapter IV discusses the logistics aspects of these missions in more detail.

The importance of JCS Directives 1067 and 1779 rests with the impact each had on Germany's economic recovery and particularly on logistics support that the U. S. military government provided: for its own occupation forces; for local populations—indigenous and displaced; for reconstruction; and for supplementing the German food supply, particularly in the first two years after war's end. JSC Directive 1779 took a more tractable approach. One sees this alone in the language. JCS 1067 immersed itself in language such as, enforce, control, destroy, dissolve, bar, fanatical, guilty; whereas JCS 1779 plies its requirements in softer language, for example, promote development, encourage political parties, facilitate judgments, supervise as necessary, assist, and encourage. Furthermore, JCS 1779 clearly acknowledges the ironies of consensus rule within the Allied Control Council. Therefore, JCS 1779, in Part I, Paragraph 2, under Authority of the Military Government, directs the Commander-in-Chief to “exert every effort to achieve economic unity with other zones.”¹⁴⁰ JCS 1779, in various drafts since the summer of 1946, although not officially released until July 1947 after the formation of *Bizonia*, in many ways circumvented numerous actions, and particularly the inability to implement the economic unity clause of the Potsdam Protocol, that had been continuously blocked by lack of consensus at the Allied Control Council. The British were hit hard by the lack of a common export-import program that, if in operation, could have relieved the British

¹³⁹ Ibid., Part IV, paragraph 13, Movement of Persons.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 34.

government of much of its occupation expenditures by allowing the Germans to export manufactured items and coal at world prices to cover their import requirements, particularly food.¹⁴¹ For the Americans, occupying a region agriculturally weak but industrially strong, a centralized export-import program could have also reduced U. S. government occupation costs.

Discussions on a British-American zone merger began during the summer of 1946, with the British signing the agreements at the end of July. *Bizonia* acted primarily as an economic union between the British occupation zone and the U. S. occupation zone, effective 1 January 1947. France also had an opportunity to join the union, refused on the principle that they opposed any centralization of German administration or organization, but finally joined in April 1949, a few weeks before formation of the Federal Republic of Germany on 24 May 1949.

Historians offer differing interpretations as to the intent and success of establishing *Bizonia*. On the one hand, Edward Peterson severely criticized the functionality of the union, hampered, he noted, by obfuscation of *Bizonia*'s mission, its decentralized nature, organizational structure, and unwieldy membership.¹⁴² On the other hand, both General Clay and his political advisor, Robert Murphy, frustrated by the inability of the Allied Control Council to execute one of the key provisions of the Potsdam Protocol, establishment of an economic unit in Germany, sought to work around this impasse by inviting the members of the Allied Control Council to join in an economic union. Both the Soviet Union and the French demurred; the Soviets considered this union a violation of the Potsdam Protocol as well as Allied Control Council procedures (the ACC had not reached consensus on this issue).

The British and the Americans intended, by establishing *Bizonia*, to make the two zones more nearly self-supporting economically, but not politically, to avoid both French and Soviet

¹⁴¹ Kramer, *The West German Economy, 1945-1955*, 63-66.

¹⁴² Peterson, *The American Occupation of Germany: Retreat to victory*, 1977. 183-192.

protests against establishing a political organization in Western Germany.¹⁴³ However, unfortunately, even with *Bizonia*, authorities in neither the British nor the American occupation zones could completely overcome the foodstuff and natural resource shortages, albeit partially the result of black market activities and hoarding related to inflationary prices. Alan Milward¹⁴⁴ presents a different picture in which he provocatively argues that by 1947, Europe was rapidly recovering economically, and therefore *Bizonia* was superfluous, a statement I refute based on the overwhelming material to the contrary. As an example, Milward claimed, using UNRRA statistics, that daily caloric count between 1945-1946 and 1946-1947 for selected Western European countries, including Germany, increased. Alan Milward's use of the UNRRA statistics are to this author, incorrectly interpreted. First, the UNRRA numbers are cited by country, in this case, Germany,¹⁴⁵ but calorie intake varied tremendously from region to region and from one age group to another. For example, official statistics from the *Ernährungsamt der Stadt Stuttgart, Verwaltungsbericht 1947*, show a *Durchschnitt* for the year 1947 of 1318 calories per day for the normal person in the age group over 20 years.¹⁴⁶ The undifferentiated UNRRA number for the same period is 1800 calories per day (no specific region or age group). Further, the UNRRA statistics show an increase from 1600 calories per day in 1945-1946, to the 1800 calories per day in 1946-1947. The *Ernährungsamt* report shows an average for 1946 of 1406 calories per day in comparison to the 1318 calories per day in 1947, a drop in average calories

¹⁴³ Numerous sources written during the occupation period and/or shortly after take this position, e.g., Murphy, *Diplomat Among Warriors*; Friedrich, *American Experiences in Military Government in World War II*. Peterson could well be justified in claiming that *Bizonia* was the ineffective, inefficient monstrosity designed by OMGUS. However, this might well have been the only option available to both the British and American military governments at the time to lighten the oppressive economic situations in their zones. Neither zone was self-sufficient; by eliminating economic barriers, both hoped to balance the other, at least to some degree. In the end, the U. S. government probably carried the larger costs, particularly for foodstuffs.

¹⁴⁴ Alan S. Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1984).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁴⁶ *Verwaltungsbericht 1947. Ernährungsamt der Stadt Stuttgart*. Stadtarchiv Stuttgart. Bestand 9, Anlage 47.

per day between 1946 and 1947.¹⁴⁷ Nonetheless, Milward's study presents the very political side of American foreign policy during this period.

While Allied leaders contemplated political and economic solutions to the German problem and the stale European economic recovery, people were starving, or close to it. Showcasing capitalism and democracy clothed in an American supported European economic recovery program counted for little to the people on 1200 or fewer calories per day. As Theodore Wilson so eloquently wrote,

People were without adequate food, clothing and shelter. Drought had destroyed much of the 1946 wheat crop and severe winter [that year] had greatly reduced the prospects for the 1947 crop. . . . Factories throughout Europe shut down because of power shortages, and even if energy had been available, the raw materials were lacking. Since Europe had exhausted its foreign exchange reserves, it could not afford to pay for the coal, oil foodstuffs and fiber that it needed and which was available only from America.¹⁴⁸

Clearly, by early 1947, American leaders were deeply frustrated about the political and economic situation in Europe. President Truman at the advice of key Sovietologists, particularly George Kennan, opted for a containment policy¹⁴⁹ predicated on a presumption that even though it appeared that the Soviets did not intend or were unwilling to live up to international agreements, Soviet proselytization of communism abroad could best be contained through economic power. The situation in Germany focused on how best to reignite the Germany economy under the restrictions placed by the Potsdam Protocol, especially since the ruling body constituted under the Protocol, the Allied Control Council, failed to agree on execution of the

¹⁴⁷ Despite differences in interpretation, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951*, is well worth reading, particularly as it brings the political dimensions of U. S. economic aid, and particularly the Marshall Plan to the forefront.

¹⁴⁸ Theodore A. Wilson, "The Marshall Plan, an Atlantic Venture of 1947-1951 and how it Shaped our World," *Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series 236* (June 1977), 19.

¹⁴⁹ See George F. Kennan memo to Secretary of Defense James Forrestal (1947). *Foreign Affairs* 25, no. 4 (Jul 1947): 566-582.

Protocol's key parameter--the requirement to establish economic unity within Germany. The overall political and economic situation in Europe while slowly recovering fared little better.

The Greek Civil War had been a British foreign affairs dilemma since British occupation of Athens in 1944 on the heels of the German military withdrawal. The Greek government split between the British-supported nationalist right and the communist National Liberation Front. The civil war ran off-and-on until 1949, with the Greek communist-led leftist forces (ELAS) hoping for support from the Soviet Union and the Greek national government forces supported by British troops and financial aid. However, by March 1947, the British government, engaged worldwide in its colonial affairs, and in dire financial straits, requested that the U. S. take over financial aid to the Greek government. President Truman, acknowledging the advice of his specialists on Soviet Union foreign policy, and the veracity of George Kennan's monograph on containment,¹⁵⁰ decided that the economic element of power provided the best tools to thwart communist expansion. Most importantly, the U. S. wanted a toehold in the Mediterranean and both Turkey and Greece offered that opportunity.¹⁵¹

Addressing a joint session of the U. S. Congress on 12 March 1947, President Truman requested a \$400 million dollar appropriation from the U. S. Congress to stabilize the Greek and Turkish governments, and using economic power, hoped to keep both countries in the Western camp.¹⁵² The Truman Doctrine, emerging from this transaction, supported George Kennan's position that countering the Soviet threat, at that time, through economic assistance and peaceful

¹⁵⁰ See George Kennan's telegram, known as "*The Long Telegram*," <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm> accessed 19 Mar 2013; also, George Kennan (aka "X"), "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." *Foreign Affairs*. Volume 25, No. 4, July 1947. 566-582.

¹⁵¹ Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power. National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 77-81, 123-127. John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), 323-324.

¹⁵² "President Harry S. Truman's Address before a Joint Session of Congress, March 12, 1947." Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library. The Avalon Project Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, accessed 19 Mar 2013, http://avalon.law.yale/20th_century/trudoc.asp.

military advice to “Western” supporters would better contain the Soviet Union than riskier and costlier military intervention and use of force.

While President Truman argued his case for financial support to Greece and Turkey in front of Congress, the diplomatic element of power at the Council of Foreign Ministers, an advisory body constituted under the Potsdam Protocol, continued to unravel, manifesting a deadlock similar to that in the Allied Control Council. General Clay, commenting on results of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow, 10 March to 24 April 1947, noted that,

The Moscow conference had significant if not immediately tangible results. The principal result was to convince the three foreign ministers representing the Western powers of the intransigence of the Soviet position. This led them to work more closely together in the future. I do not believe that our delegation had any illusions as to the outcome of the conference. Our difficulties in preparing the report of the Allied Control Council had demonstrated Soviet unwillingness to seek a settlement. Also, Soviet expansion in Europe was still gaining ground and Soviet representatives were confident that Germany would be included. While we had not yet embarked on a positive program of assistance to the free countries of Europe, I believe that it was at Moscow that Secretary Marshall recognized the necessity of stopping the Communist advance in Europe before the German problem is settled.¹⁵³

This was, of course, not the first indication of discord over execution of the post-war agreements on Germany among the Four Powers at the Allied Control Council. Nevertheless, 1947 in retrospect, seems to signify a watershed year for the U. S. Government wherein most American leaders, civilian and military alike, decided to stop “*nach der russischen Pfeife zu tanzen*” and to begin pushing back. The *Bizonia* merger pact, signed in early December 1946, took effect on 1 January 1947, and its Economic Council formed by the end of May 1947. This, according to Soviet representatives, violated the Potsdam Protocol as it initiated establishment of centralizing German political agencies. Was this not an attempt to comply with the Potsdam Protocol that had called for economic unity, and because of French and Soviet dissension, the

¹⁵³ Clay, *Decision in Germany*, 153-154.

closest that could be worked out by 1947 Secretary of State Marshall, in a radio address to the American people on 28 April 1947, summarizing the recent Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow said this:

Agreement was made impossible at Moscow because, in our view, the Soviet Union insisted upon proposals which would have established in Germany a centralized government, adapted to the seizure of absolute control of the country which would be doomed economically through inadequate area and excessive population, and would be mortgaged to turn over a large part of its production as reparations, principally to the Soviet Union.¹⁵⁴

What the occupation governments could not do to achieve economic improvement in Germany, and thus Europe, in the face of a virtual standstill within the Allied Control Council, as well as the inability of the Council of Foreign Ministers to agree, the U. S. Government under President Truman and Secretary of State Marshall did. Pulling out a loaded economic gun, on 5 June 1947, Secretary of State Marshall, with President Truman's support, in his speech at Harvard University, advocated that, "It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for the Government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe."¹⁵⁵ And indeed, it did! Accepting Secretary Marshall's offer, the British and French Foreign Ministers, Ernest Bevin and Georges Bidault, invited twenty-two nations to a conference in Paris in July to develop a comprehensive economic program, a conference that, in effect, birthed the European Recovery Program (ERP), more fondly known as the Marshall Plan. As Secretary Marshall, in his speech, further stated, "The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program and of later support of such a program so far

¹⁵⁴ George C. Marshall. "Fourth Meeting of the Council, of Foreign Ministers, Moscow, March 10 to April 24 1947; Report by Secretary Marshall, April 28, 1947." Avalon Project – A Decade of American Foreign Policy 1941-1949. Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library. The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, accessed 6 March 201, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/decade.asp.

¹⁵⁵ George C. Marshall. 5 June 1947 Harvard speech, accessed 2 July 2014, <http://www.oecd.org/general/themarshallplanspeechatharvarduniversity5june1947.htm>.

as it may be practical for us to do so.” The ERP, as developed over the following months, proposed monetary support in the form of grants and loans directed towards economic recovery in war-ravaged European countries. Sixteen of the twenty-two invitees¹⁵⁶ to the initial Paris conference eventually took part in the program that, by April 1948, developed into the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC, and later the OECD). The Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern Europe politely declined to participate, and by January 1949, established the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), supposedly as a counter to the OEEC.¹⁵⁷

The European Recovery Program not only fit nicely into Washington’s newly developing containment philosophy, but also coupled with American nuclear supremacy, allowed President Truman to demobilize drastically U. S. military forces overseas. As noted in Appendix II.3, the U. S. reduced military forces on the European continent from approximately 329,601 in June 1946, to approximately 134,025 troops by July 1947. One might also suggest that planning for the European Recovery Program brought renewed focus on the necessity for currency reform in occupied Germany. Both General Clay and his political advisor, Ambassador Robert Murphy had urged Secretary of State Byrnes to support this course of action as early as the spring/summer of 1946, however, to no avail.

¹⁵⁶ The round of sixteen in Paris, July 1947: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

¹⁵⁷ For the quickest all around introduction to the European Recovery Act, see the U. S. Department of State pamphlet, “The Marshall Plan: Origins and Implementation,” by William F. Sanford, Jr. Bureau of Public Affairs, Washington, D. C. 1982. Likewise, a quick read on the Marshall Plan, see Wilson, *The Marshall Plan, 1947-1951*. For a more economics-based narrative, see David W. Ellwood, *Rebuilding Europe: Western Europe, America and Postwar Reconstruction* (London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1992). For a pro-and-con argument on success of the Marshall Plan, see Michael J. Hogan, *The Marshall Plan America, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1951* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Hogan argues that the Marshall Plan was not simply a reaction to counter Soviet or socialist influences in Europe, but rather, a drive to not only reintegrate Germany back into the European economic system, but also to create new supranational agencies partly to preclude nationalisms that created two wars, but also to manage a multinational system along the lines of American economic philosophy. David Reynolds argues similarly in *The Origins of the Cold War in Europe*, (New haven: Yale University Press, 1994). Also, see Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951*.

For the ERP to succeed economically, military governments in Germany needed to coin not only a valid currency domestically in inflation-torn Germany, but also an established currency for import-export trade. Economic recovery in Europe converged around German recovery. This action, too, faced resistance from the Soviet military government at the Allied Control Council. The Soviet representative at the Council, Marshal Sokolovsky, insisted on a duplicate set of plates, so that currency could be printed in Leipzig. As General Clay later noted:

We had suffered badly when we made available to the Soviet Government a set of plates to print Allied military marks [in 1945], and we had never been able to find out the total value of Soviet notes, large amounts of which we had redeemed in dollars. Our government did not intend to repeat this mistake, and my instructions were specific.¹⁵⁸

Where the Council of Foreign Ministers Conference in Moscow in March and April 1947 foretold a rocky year ahead politically and economically, the December conference in London, 25 November to 16 December, ended the year validating that forecast. Economic unity, common utilization of German resources, the future form of German government (federalist or centralized), and procedures required to prepare for a German peace treaty remained the key issues requiring resolution at year's end. Neither Foreign Ministers' conferences resolved these issues. Secretary of State Marshall understating results in his 19 December 1947 report of the conference, noted that the "recent meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London was disappointing." The American delegation left London, tired of the meetings long on rhetoric but short on action.

The Communist-led February 1948 Czechoslovakian coup d'état altered the landscape in Europe. Any lingering Congressional opposition to the European Recovery Program melted away; Congress approved an initial \$5-plus billion for the first year of the program, and according to Theodore Wilson, by June 30, 1949, the Economic Cooperation Administration

¹⁵⁸ Clay, *Decision in German*, 156.

(ECA) “had turned over \$5.95 billion to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) nations for procurement of goods and services.”¹⁵⁹ Moreover, Western Europeans quietly advocated for a Western European defense union to provide mutual security that singly none could afford. The Treaty of Brussels (Brussels Pact), signed on 17 March 1948, and intended originally as a mutual defense pact against Germany, matured into the Western European Union and establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance by 1949. Perhaps events in 1948 convinced the Brussels Pact members that the greater threat lay farther east than Germany; perhaps they realized that they required a bigger tiger on their team. However, although the Czech coup rattled senior officials in the U. S. Government, President Truman’s focus and emphasis on containment of communism remained in the economic arena.

Quadripartite relations among the World War II Allies broke down by April 1948, with the Soviets withdrawing from all agencies but the *Kommandatura* in Berlin. By mid-June 1948, the Soviet military government vacated the *Kommandatura*, declaring Four-Power rule in Berlin defunct. Coincidentally, the U. S.-backed currency reform went into effect in the western three occupation zones 20 June 1948, followed shortly thereafter by establishment of the *Parliamentarische Rat* to work out a West German constitution, leading to establishment of a West German Government. Clearly, the Americans, British, and French, weary of Allied Control Council impotence, accepted the inevitability, at least for the time being, of a divided Germany, and moved ahead with the Potsdam provisions. This, of course, aggravated the Soviets further. After several months of partial transportation delays and “baby blockades”¹⁶⁰ by Soviet police and troops, by 24 June 1948, the Soviets effectively blocked all land and water

¹⁵⁹ Wilson, “The Marshall Plan, an Atlantic Venture of 1947-1951 and how it Shaped our World.,” *Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series 236* (June 1977), 42-43.

¹⁶⁰ Daniel F. Harrington, *Berlin on the Brink: the Blockade, the Airlift, and the Early Cold War* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2012), 47-57.

routes into Berlin. Coincidentally, Soviet representatives cut all electricity and communications flow originating in the Soviet sector and zone flowing into the West Berlin sectors. One wonders why the Americans and British had not worked out dedicated transit routes to and from Berlin when agreements for occupation zones were under consideration. Earl Ziemke documents that SHAEF had studied the issue as early as June 1944, as had the U. S. War Department. Both organizations had apparently decided, “free access across the Soviet zone was preferable to corridors or selected routes.”¹⁶¹ Further, that the EAC or the ACC would more closely define transportation issues later. Nonetheless, the Soviets shut off all but the air corridors, forcing the British and U. S. to initiate airlift logistics support into Berlin, to support military forces, family members, and the German civilian population.¹⁶² What to do? The short story follows, however, many narratives delve into the subject in extreme detail.¹⁶³

The War Department pretty much followed General Clay’s recommendations with the caveat that extreme consideration be given to avoid any action that might provoke armed conflict. The War Department did reject a suggestion from General Clay to force an armed convoy from Helmstedt to Berlin.¹⁶⁴ On the other hand, the War Department accepted his recommendation to allow family members to stay in Berlin during the crisis. The three beleaguered military forces in the West Berlin sectors, along with command support from their headquarters in their respective occupation zones, planned and supported the airlift operation for nearly eleven months.

¹⁶¹ Ziemke. *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany 1944-1946*, 125-126 and 297-300.

¹⁶² Summation primarily from Clay. *Decision in Germany*.

¹⁶³ For an on-the-scene commentary from the U. S. Military Governor, see Clay, *Decision in Germany*, Chapters 19 and 20. For detail and statistics, see United States Army European Command. Office of the Chief Historian. *The Berlin Airlift, 21 June-31 December 1948*. Occupation Forces in Europe Series, 1946-1947. Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany. 1949. For a useful and current historical analysis, see Daniel F. Harrington, *Berlin on the Brink: the Blockade, the Airlift, and the Early Cold War*. For a heartwarming story, see. Gail Halvorsen, *The Berlin Candy Bombers*, (Bountiful, UT: Horizon Publishers & Distributors, Inc., 2002).

¹⁶⁴ Clay, *Decision in Germany*, 374.

This logistics feat, code-named Operation VITTLES, resulted in 166,984 flights of C47s and C54s carrying approximately 1,402,644 metric tons of food, coal and other essentials (see Appendices II.3.1, and 3.2 to support the French, British and American sectors in West Berlin until the Soviets ended the Blockade on 12 May 1949.¹⁶⁵

Quite possibly the official establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in April 1949, and particularly the overwhelming success of the *Luftbrücke* into Berlin eventually convinced the Soviets of the futility in continuing the blockade. More importantly, however, the Soviets had bigger fish to fry. With the announcement of their successful nuclear detonation on 29 Aug 1949, they joined the United States as the second nation to possess nuclear capability.

However, during this critical period internationally, 1947-1949, in addition to post-war Europe and occupied Germany, the American President had several significant issues to consider at home: retooling American industry, demobilizing military forces, and reining in the wartime federal budget. The above noted series of international events, in retrospect, one following on the other, finally convinced American government leaders that leaving a fighting military force in Germany might not be a bad idea. The U. S. Army had already committed to allowing family members to join their military spouses in country. Because the tooth required the tail's support,¹⁶⁶ combat service support forces represented a portion of the occupation force as well as the cost. The paradox lay in keeping a force overseas: how could the U. S. Government pay for occupation forces during a time when Federal budgets remained constrained and Americans wanted jobs at home and peace overseas?

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 391; and "Germany – Four Years of Occupation," *Army Information Digest* (May-June 1949): 11. Informal discussions on how to terminate the Blockade, between Philip C. Jessup, U. S. representative on the UN Security Council and Jacob Malik, the Soviet representative on the UN Security Council, began in the early spring, 1949.

¹⁶⁶ Tooth equals the combat forces whereas tail represents the support forces.

Perhaps President Truman and his advisors felt that their atomic card provided some measure of assurance to offset the dwindling forces overseas. Certainly, force strength in Europe did not reflect an overriding concern, particularly after the Soviet announcement of a successful atomic test in August 1949, as the U. S. contingent in Europe continued to drop, from 91,535 to 82,492 in 1949, and further the next year, to 79,495. In his defense, however, President Truman faced considerable issues domestically after the war, opting for butter over the guns.

For most officials in Washington, D. C., June 1950 – the beginning of the Korean Conflict -- substantiated Soviet intentions to dominate the landscape. Finally, augmentation of U. S. troops to Germany increased. General Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, commented to President Truman, ““Unless we rearm Germany soon, we will lose it.”¹⁶⁷

4. Conclusion: Implications and Unplanned Initiatives.

Initially, the terms of the Potsdam Protocol bound occupation forces to duty in Germany for an undetermined period. The occupation objectives dictated an overall strategy that military planners and commanders translated into missions. Mission planning involves logistics planning, normally based on how much and what type of resources, delivered where and when. The nature of the logistics pipeline determines how logistic support arrives at its destination (in this study, detailed in Chapters IV and V). The oddity of this situation lay with the establishment of two key missions, security and military government, and realistically two chains of command on the ground in Germany, although the Military Governor officially functioned as the supreme commander of all U. S. Forces. The U. S. Army could conduct security missions, but it had never performed the all-encompassing type of military government/occupation mission set forth in the Potsdam Protocol. Nor had the U. S. Army the conducted such an intensive and long-in-

¹⁶⁷ Letter, General Omar Bradley to President Harry S. Truman. Folder 4-3, Truman Papers. Harry S. Truman Library.

duration logistics support mission. The security forces were typical tactical military units with support forces, organized by standing, approved Tables of Organization and Equipment for the period. At the beginning of the post-surrender occupation, the fighting force numbered over three million. Redeployment and demobilization reduced this number significantly within eighteen months, but both occupation and security missions remained. As will be discussed later, logistics missions actually increased, but not necessarily fulfilled by U.S. military personnel.

As the occupation evolved, so, too, did the international arena, one world colliding with the other. Progress toward curtailing the occupation eluded at least the Americans and the British. As the international arena grew more volatile and the economic distress in Germany and Europe continued, the Berlin crisis erupted into the Berlin Blockade, a logistics nightmare, lasting almost one year. While the final straw in the pile would not come until June 1950 on another continent, the Berlin Blockade most certainly represented a wake-up call for the U. S. Government.

The next phase in occupation, reestablishing a German government, albeit with restrictions, transfer of authority to civilian High Commissioner status, quiet, early discussions on German rearmament, establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, ostensibly to defend Europe against external aggression, and redeployment of U. S. Forces to Europe loomed just over the horizon¹⁶⁸. The logistics mission remained, and in fact, increased.

¹⁶⁸ The literature covering the period between the end of the military occupation in September 1949 and the end of the High Commissioner period and subsequent rearming of Germany in 1954-1955 is voluminous. For general understanding of this period: Mary Fulbrook, *History of Germany 1918-2000. The Divided Nation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), Chapters 6 and 7. Wolfram F. Hanrieder, *West German Foreign Policy 1949-1963. International Pressure and Domestic Response* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), Part I, Chapters 1 through 4. Konrad H. Jarausch, *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1945-1995*, trans. Brandon Hunziker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), Part I, Chapters 1 through 3. Rudolf Morsey, *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Entstehung und Entwicklung bis 1969* (München: Oldenbourg Verlag GmbH, 1995). Gregor Schöllgen, *Die Macht in der Mitte Europas. Stationen Deutscher Außenpolitik von Friedrich dem Großen bis zur Gegenwart* (München:

The inability of U. S. Government agencies to coordinate, plan and agree on post-war occupation issues until a few months before unconditional surrender resulted in lack of a clear policy and confusion for the government's executive agent for occupation, the U. S. Army. Furthermore, the roadblocks in combined planning between the British and the American agencies exacerbated the situation. Moreover, national interests often trumped coordination and consensus, further complicating planning.

President Roosevelt ultimately decided that the U. S Army would administer military government in Germany. Secretary of War Harry L. Stimson supported the President's decision even though General Eisenhower wanted the Army out of Germany as early as possible, but no other agency and particularly the State Department could handle the logistics mission. So the U. S. Army would unscramble the politics, shoulder the mission and ultimately remain in Germany to support the redeployment of forces back to Europe. Thus, the political again became the logistical.

Verlag C. H. Beck oHG, 1992), Sections III and IV. On the evolution of the U. S. Army during the early days of the Cold War: Ingo Trauschweizer, *The Cold War U. S. Army: Building Deterrence for Limited War* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008), Chapter 1.

CHAPTER III. U. S. Army Military Organizations and Missions in Occupied Germany

Introduction.

As noted in the previous chapter, the United States Group Control Council (USGCC) activated in 1944 as the “captain” of the U. S. Military Government ship for occupation duty in Germany. After Germany’s unconditional surrender and the conclusion of the Potsdam Conference at Babelsberg, outside of Berlin, the Office of Military Government United States in Germany (OMGUS) replaced USGCC as the representative of the U. S. Government in the joint occupation governing body, the Allied Control Council (ACC). OMGUS not only conducted joint level Allied Control Council business for the U. S. Government, but also piloted all U. S. military government activities, and oversaw the operational missions of the U. S. Army forces deployed in Germany after the unconditional surrender. However, OMGUS’ primary mission involved establishing directives to implement the Potsdam Protocol. OMGUS designated a major Army headquarters, U. S. Forces European Theater, to execute these directives in its occupation zone. To be sure, an extremely complicated and unusual mission challenged the military leaders, civilian leaders and their subordinates on site during the U. S. occupation.

The U. S. Army deployed to Europe initially to win the war – the job that American soldiers had been trained to do. The missions that followed severely tested the U. S. Army more than once over the following four years of military occupation. Primarily, the difficulties were the result of limited resources and financial restrictions. These missions, over and above the primary mission to maintain security and restore order, included redeploying over three million U. S. troops plus millions of tons of equipment either to the Pacific Theater or back to the United States, demobilizing millions of German prisoners of war, repatriating over three million

Displaced Persons,¹⁶⁹ and resettling several million Expellees. The critical and often spontaneous missions of debris removal, infrastructure rebuilding, transportation resources, rail and road repair, and food and medical support to the civilian population expanded the workload assumed by most of the Army's logistical units.

The overall mission to resuscitate Germany inarguably overwhelmed those charged with the responsibility and the tasks. One need only recall the images in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina (2005) destroyed much of the infrastructure in the city and surrounding areas to conjure up a miniscule perspective of the scale of the destruction confronting both conqueror and conquered in Germany and the immensity of the mission the U. S. Army took on in 1945. At least New Orleans in Katrina's aftermath retained its governmental structure, receiving state and federal support. Germany, on the other hand, faced a complete breakdown of its central and much of its regional government structures. Among the knowledgeable personnel that remained, occupation forces generally purged suspected Nazi supporters. During these initial months, tasks not covered by policy or manuals often preceded guidance. As noted earlier, the War Department did not release the final directive for U. S. Army in Occupation Germany, JCS 1067, officially until October 1945, five months after the surrender. The mission could not wait. The Army organizational structure required converting rapidly from its wartime fighting mission to the new missions under occupation government.

1. U. S. Army Military Organizations in Occupied Germany.

As noted in previous chapters, a policy of drift typified Washington's attempts between 1943 and early 1945 to generate a U. S. Government occupation policy for post-war Germany. Aside from JCS 1067 that the U. S. War Department officially released in October 1945, little

¹⁶⁹ Official U. S. policy dictated only returning those who wanted to return to their homeland. This stance caused a few disagreements with the Russians, who wanted all their citizens returned. DP camps remained in operation into the 1950s because of several thousands who did not want to return to their homelands.

definitive guidance as to length of occupation or specific long-term policies appeared before the Potsdam Protocol was issued in August 1945. President Roosevelt had decreed that the U. S. Army would occupy and manage the U. S. occupation zone for an indefinite period only after the Tehran Conference (December 1943). The European Advisory Commission, a product of the Tehran Conference, comprised of representatives from the Big Three, set up for duty in London to provide recommendations on surrender documents as well as policies for follow-on occupation. As noted in the previous chapter, getting to the task proved difficult. Roosevelt finally ordered the Departments of State, War and Navy (SWNCC) to work out occupation details in December 1944.

However, prior to that point, the Supreme Allied Commander, General Eisenhower required a more robust U. S. Army organization in Great Britain to stage the operation that would get British and American forces on the shores of France. The Special Army Observer Group (SPOBS) set up in London during May 1941 to work with British counterparts on war planning issues should the U. S. enter the war, and by August 1941, to administer Lend-Lease and Reverse Lend-Lease programs for Europe, was about to expand.

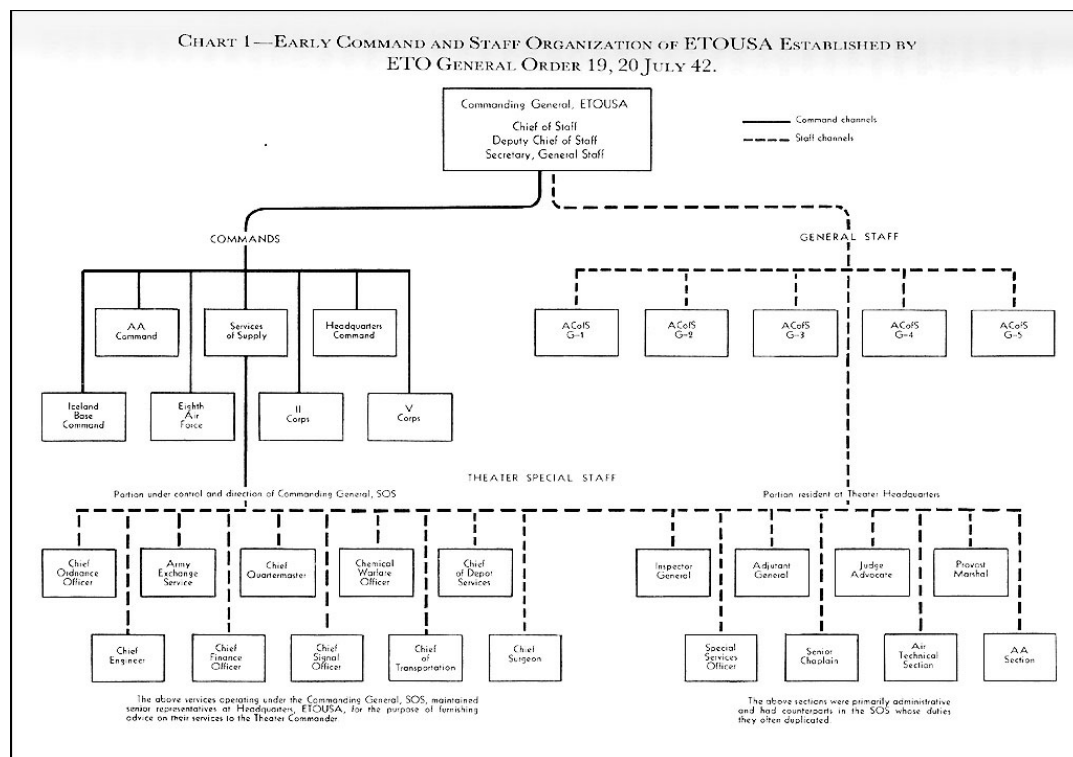
1.1 European Theater of Operations United States Army (ETOUSA)

The European Theater of Operations United States Army (ETOUSA) saga began with the establishment of Services of Supply, European Theater (SOS, ETO) in Great Britain in May 1942 to support logistically a relatively small group of U. S. Army Forces in the British Isles (USAFBI), successor to the Special Army Observer Group in London (SPOBS). USAFBI reinforced the small contingent of U. S. Army personnel assigned to the SPOBS in January 1942, as the U. S. War Department committed to and initiated planning for its northwest European adventure. With the commitment to a cross-channel operation into continental Europe came also

the commitment to establish not only a robust service and supply organization but also a theater of operations.

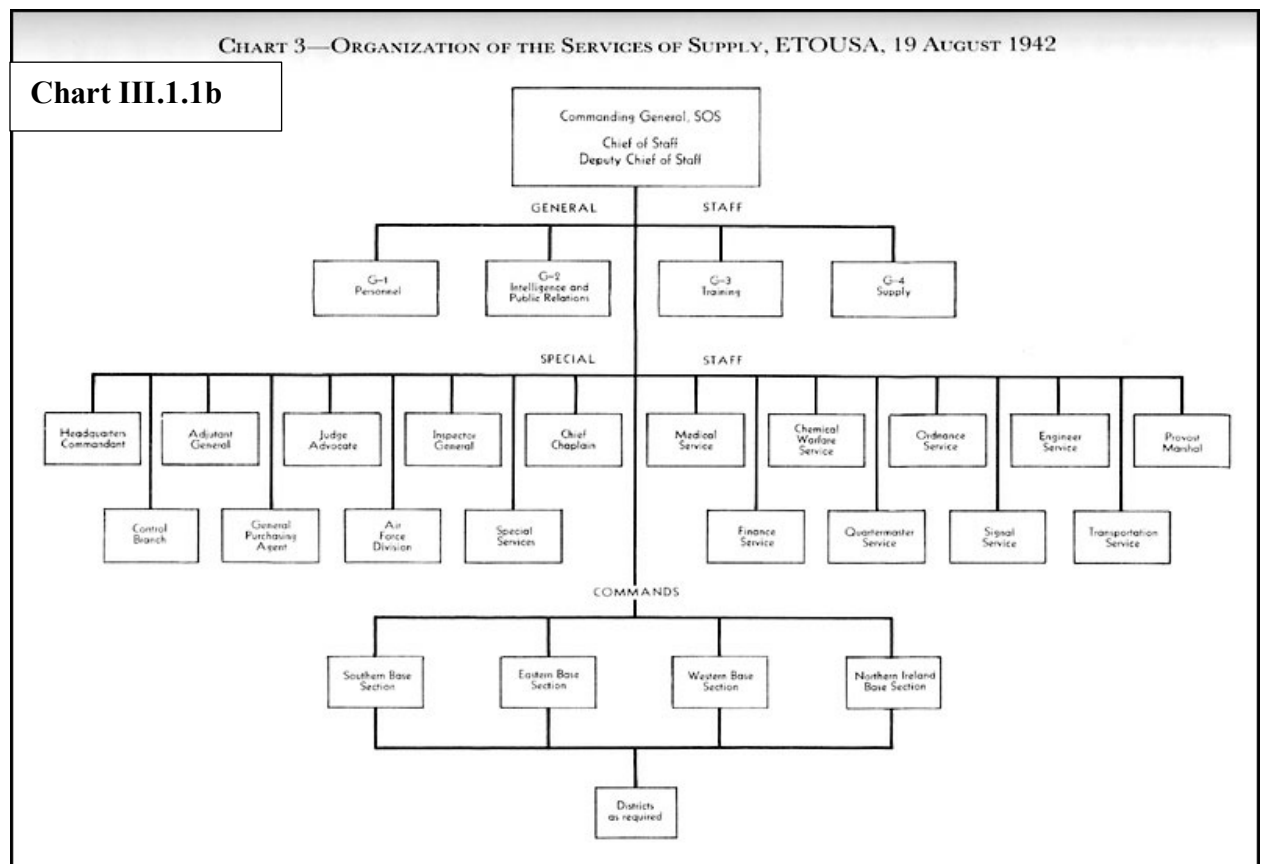
As it became apparent by spring, 1942 that even the USAFBI could not handle the scale of planning tasks and execution for of a full cross-channel operation and follow-on theater operations, the War Department established European Theater of Operations United States Army (ETOUSA), on 8 June 1942. Services of Supply (SOS) expanded with the ETOUSA organization as a separate command under ETOUSA. The first Organization Chart below reflects the ETOUSA organization as it stood officially on 20 July 1942, roughly two months after its inception.

Chart III.1.1a – European Theater of Operations, USA¹⁷⁰

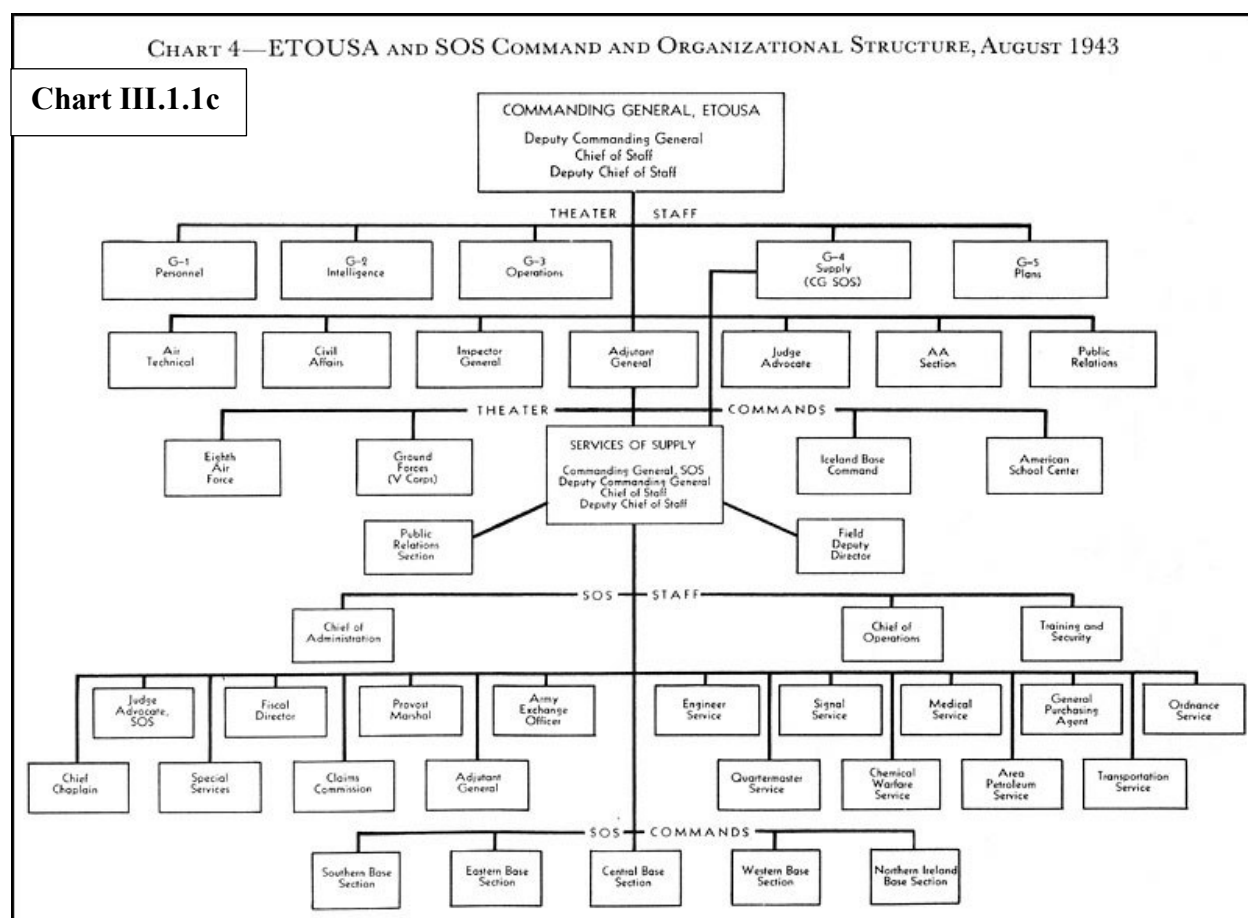


¹⁷⁰ Roland G. Ruppenthal, U. S. Army in World War II Series, European Theater of Operations, *Logistical Support of the Armies: May 1941-September 1944* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1956), Charts III.1.1a, 1b, 1c, and 1d, pages respectively 45, 79, 165, and 199.

Services of Supply shows as a separate coordinate command in the above chart. The organizations listed under Theater Special Staff (dotted lines), under Control and Direction of the Commanding General, SOS (left side of the chart), proffers a glimpse of the magnitude of logistics support unleashed in the European Theater. Further, it also hints at the nature and complexity of the logistics organization that supports a military community. Two special staff sections shown – Army Exchange Service and Special Services Officer, however nondescript to the layperson, along with the Chaplain, provide the moral and morale boosters for the soldiers. The Army Exchange Service is the Army’s Sears, Roebuck & Company while the Special Services Officer arranges all manner of entertainment and recreation activities for service members, the most notable, the USO (United Service Organization) shows. The Chart III.1.1b, below, offers a detailed schema of the SOS.

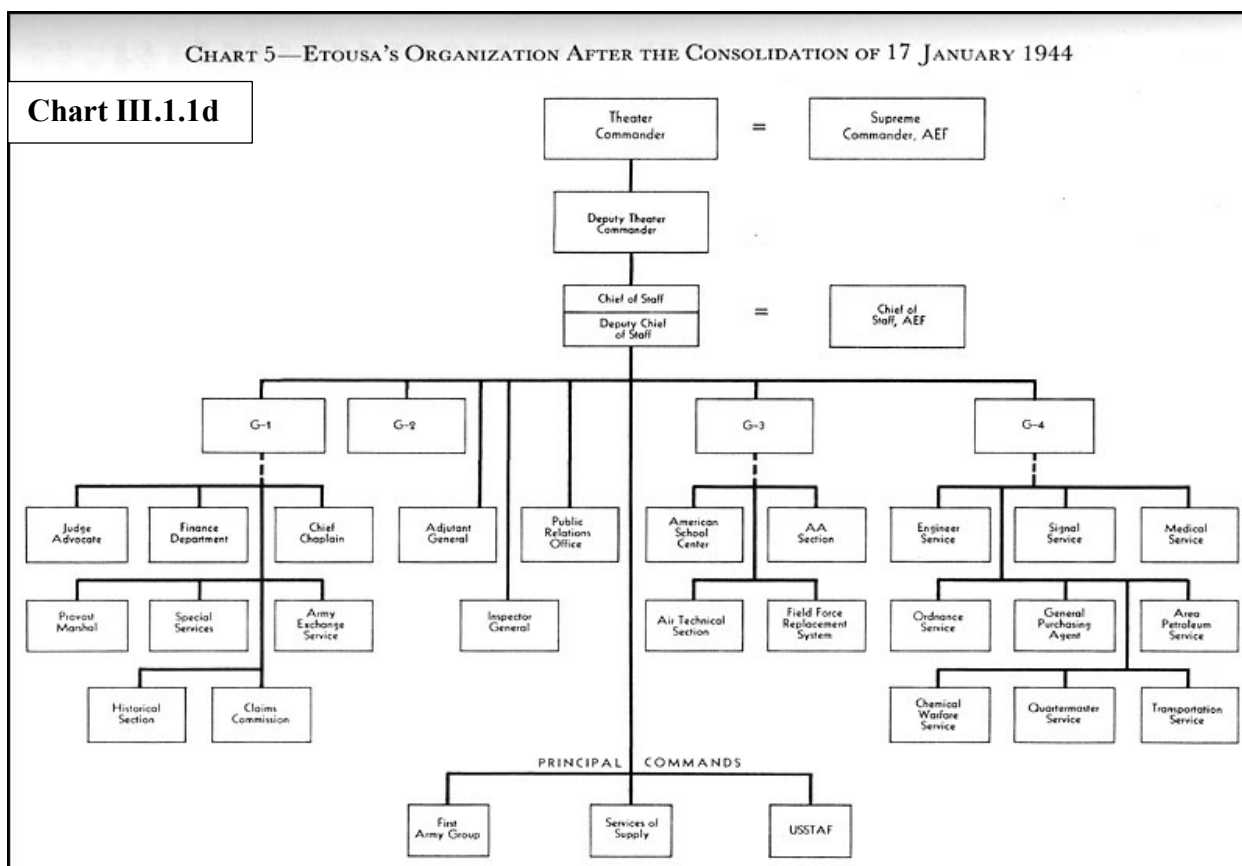


The Chart III.1.1c below, offers a view of the growth of ETOUSA and SOS by August 1943, a little more than one year after inception.



ETOUSA initially conducted planning for the fight in Europe and exercised administrative and operational control of U. S forces in the European theater¹⁷¹ until the activation of SHAEF in December 1943. The following organization chart depicts the scaled down, consolidated ETOUSA-SOS organization that functioned as the administrative and services headquarters for U. S. Army forces in the European Theater until July 1945.

¹⁷¹ A theater of operations is the geographical area invaded or defended by military forces and includes both the Combat Zone as well as areas “behind” the actual fighting required for administrative tasks in support of the fighting (usually referred to as the Communications Zone). ETOUSA covered the geographical area in Europe north of Italy and the Mediterranean, whereas NATOUSA covered military operations in North Africa. At the completion of those operations, NATOUSA became MTOUSA (Mediterranean Theater of Operations).



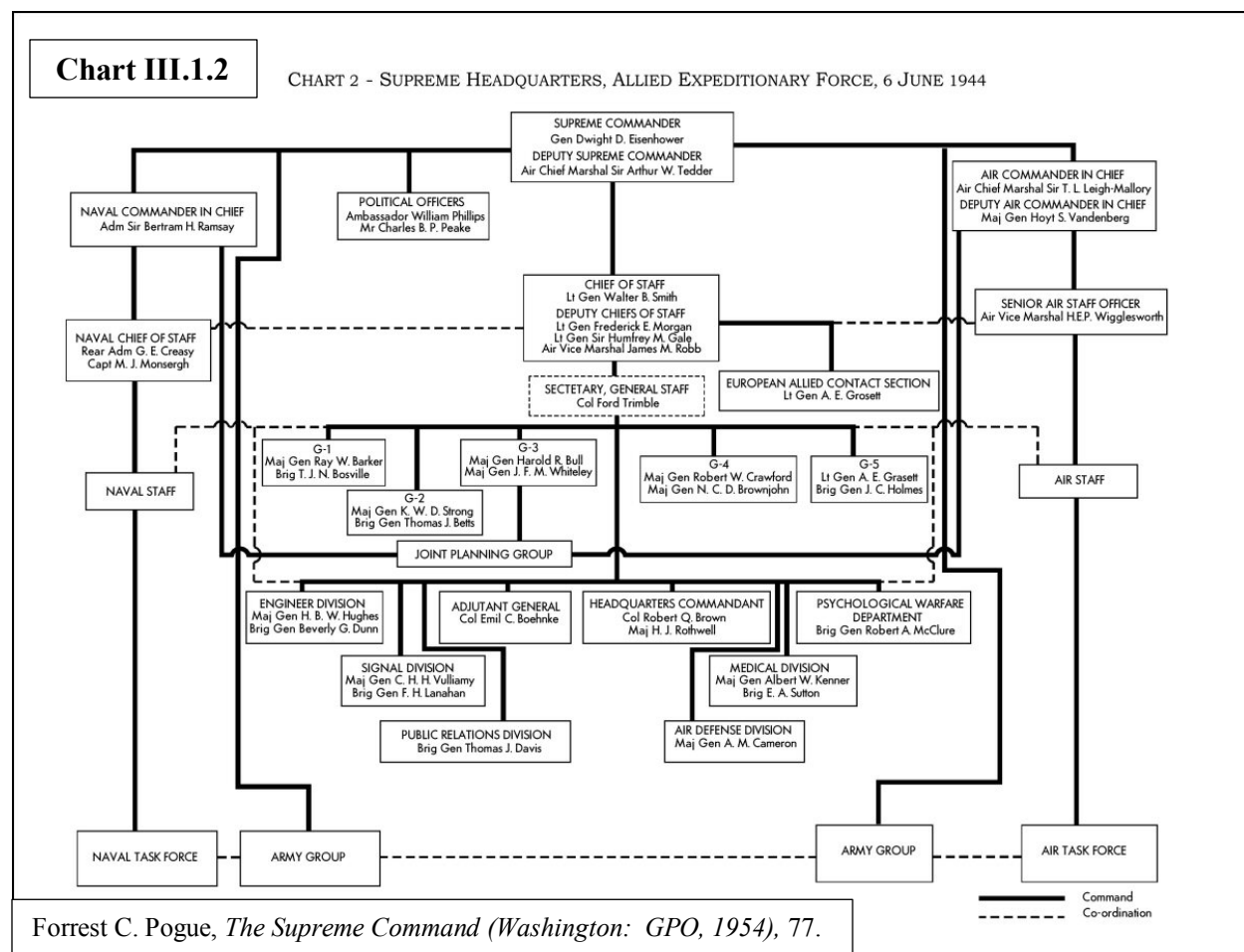
As Roland Ruppenthal wrote, “The history of the logistics of the war in Europe, so far as U. S. participation is concerned, is basically the history of the SOS and its successor on the Continent, the Communications Zone.”¹⁷² ETOUSA reorganized as the United States Forces European Theater (USFET) in July 1945. The Communications Zone transformed into Theater Service Forces under USFET on 1 August 1945, continuing the redeployment mission and logistic support effort for U. S. Army forces in Germany.

1.2 Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces.

The Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) activated in December 1943 as a combined headquarters with the British primarily to complete planning for, and to execute Operation OVERLORD and the follow-on operational and tactical missions on the

¹⁷² Ruppenthal, *Logistical Support of the Armies: May 1941-September 1944*, 33.

European continent. Its predecessor, the Chief of Staff for the Supreme Allied Commander (COSSAC), had planned much of the initial OVERLORD operation. The SHAEF staff also prepared and coordinated administrative and logistic requirements that would influence the European theater throughout the rest of the war and into the occupation phases. A large headquarters with approximately 2,800 members initially, SHAEF figured critically in the preparation of the surrender documents for Germany as well as development of military occupation policies for U. S. commanders in the U. S. occupation zone.



According to most historians, combined operations at SHAEF ran smoothly. Indeed,

Lt.- Gen. Sir Frederick Morgan, in *Overture to Overlord*,¹⁷³ reflects that SHAEF's predecessor, COSSAC, worked out its teething problems prior to growing into SHAEF. However, for SHAEF, three crucial organizational concepts presented difficulties for the newly assigned SHAEF Commander, General Eisenhower, the first two which concern this study: how to organize combined G4 Logistics and the G5 Civil Affairs branches, and how to organize the combined Air Command under his single authority. Forrest C. Pogue discussed these issues in depth in *The Supreme Command*.¹⁷⁴ A shorter version follows.

First, according to Roland G. Ruppenthal, in *Logistical Support of the Armies*, COSSAC, in the fall of 1943, had finally resolved the logistics issues at the Allied level by, "determining inter-service and inter-Allied administrative policy, but leaving the detailed implementation of its decisions to its subcommands and national agencies."¹⁷⁵ For logisticians, "the Devil is often in the details," and indeed, implementation of COSSAC and later SHAEF administrative and logistics policy proved complicated. General Eisenhower, wearing two hats as SHAEF Commander and as the ETOUSA Commander, had command authority over ETOUSA's Headquarters, Services of Supply (SOS). U. S. and British logistic systems differed significantly in structure – a major factor in establishing the SOS in Britain in the first place. General Eisenhower could not restructure the British logistics organization within SHAEF. He did, however, streamline the U. S. logistics system in Europe by consolidating Headquarters, ETOUSA with Headquarters, SOS, assigning Lieutenant General John C. H. Lee, former commander of Headquarters, SOS, as the Deputy Theater Commander for Supply and

¹⁷³ Lt.-Gen. Sir Frederick Morgan, K. C. B., *Overture to Overlord* (London: Hodder & Stoughton Limited, 1950), 217-240.

¹⁷⁴ Forrest C. Pogue, *United States Army in World War II, The European Theater of Operations, The Supreme Command* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1954). 66-97; 98-106; 107-122; 123-137; and 512-515. Additionally, Maurice Matloff discussed SHAEF briefly in Chapter XVIII, "Concentration for the Big Blow, January – May 1944," *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare 1943-44*.

¹⁷⁵ Ruppenthal, *Logistical Support of the Armies*, 203-230.

Administration, and later, commander of Headquarters, Communications Zone. General Eisenhower relied on two ETOUSA staffs - G1 (Personnel and Administration) and G4 (Logistics) – for direct communications with the U. S. War and Navy departments on U. S. Army in Europe administrative and logistic issues. Further, he directed the ETOUSA-SOS organization to coordinate with both the 1st and 21st Army Groups on logistics support for the upcoming Operation OVERLORD and complete planning for establishment of the Communications Zone (COMZ) on the Continent following a successful OVERLORD.

The second difficult issue for the combined SHAEF staff involved the philosophy and organization of the relatively new concept of a G5 Civil Affairs Directorate. The British, engaged in occupation-type governments, both civilian and military, over several centuries had considerable experience in this type of operation. At issue was what model would work best in Europe after hostilities ended - military government or civil affairs? The U. S. concept of military government for occupied Germany heralded from the World War I experience in Germany after the armistice went into effect (11 November 1918), and recounted in the Hunt Report that the U. S. Army reprinted in 1943 as a resource for the fledgling Civil Affairs Directorate.¹⁷⁶ This concept initially followed orders issued under the supreme command of Marshal Ferdinand Foch, subsequently supplemented and adopted by the American General Headquarters as *Anordnungen* (9 December 1918) for the American occupied zone. However, regarding the American Army relations with the German civilian population, the General Headquarters, American Expeditionary Forces published General Orders No. 218 on November 28, 1918, calling for a firm but distant military force on the ground to supervise existing local government and insure that local populations followed orders issued by the occupying force.

¹⁷⁶ Hunt, *American Military Government of Occupied Germany 1918-1920. Report of the Officer in Charge of Civil Affairs, Third Army and American Forces in Germany*, 203-218.

If the Americans succeeded in maintaining an attitude of dignified aloofness from the Germans and did not mingle with them at all on a basis of equality, the military authorities would be better able to enforce their orders to the civil population and, incidentally to maintain discipline. It was based on the identical theory which prevents an officer from mingling on terms of equality with soldiers, -- the fear that familiarity will breed contempt, to the detriment of discipline. The anti-fraternization order was sound in theory and undoubtedly succeeded in achieving its purpose as far as the officers of the army were concerned; but its failure to achieve practical results among the soldiers soon became notorious.¹⁷⁷

Unfortunately, and as Colonel Hunt further explained, American soldiers actually billeted with German families. Maintaining aloofness and distance at the dinner table must have been difficult. One wonders if U. S. Army planners missed this section of the Hunt Report when rewriting their non-fraternization script for the post-World War II occupation, although American soldiers did not billet with German families during the second occupation period.

Post-World War II presented a different scenario: first, there arose the challenge of making a distinction between liberated countries and occupied countries, and second, determining what type of military government, if any, appeared necessary. Germany presented a different situation, given that the Allies intended to execute an Allied-fed, top-down political, economic and cultural revolution. U. S. military forces lacked the technical personnel to run a government, to run an economy, and to reorient a culture. It is not clear historically when the U. S. Government realized – or the British either, for that matter – what political and economic structures in Germany would remain at surrender. According to Maurice Matloff, by the summer of 1943, U. S. Army planners projected a German surrender in the fall of 1944.¹⁷⁸ Further, the War Department Special Staff in its 30 June 1944 Report on the Status of Demobilization and Postwar Planning based its demobilization planning objectives on 1 October 1944, as “the

¹⁷⁷Ibid., 203-204.

¹⁷⁸ Matloff, *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare 1943-44*, 206, 240, 309, 509, 517. 521.

earliest probable date that a German collapse may be expected.”¹⁷⁹ The German breakthrough at Ardennes between 16 December and 25 January 1945 altered that assumption. Regardless of timing, considering plans from at least 1943, however, the Allies clearly intended to replace the Nazi-led government and economic structures at all levels. Whereas Germany after World War I faced little infrastructure damage from the war and only a partial military occupation, Germany after World War II faced massive infrastructure damage in many industrial and urban areas and a total military occupation. Moreover, Displaced Persons within Germany and refugees from Eastern Europe, fleeing the Soviets, created not only massive bottlenecks on the road network, but also required food and shelter that military forces under international law had to provide even during ongoing military operations.

Recognizing the need for early planning and an organization to deal with these civilian issues thus relieving military forces to fight the battle, the U. S. War Department established a Military Government Division with the U. S. Army Provost Marshal’s staff on 15 September 1942. The Military Government Division designed a civil affairs training program, drafted civilian specialists and opened several schools to train these new officers in civil affairs issues.¹⁸⁰ Further, the Civil Affairs Division (CAD) under Major General John H. Hilldring was established on 1 March 1943, to report directly to the Secretary of War. As with several other attempts to establish combined agencies, the British and American civil affairs agencies could

¹⁷⁹ Center for Army Research Library Archives, Fort Leavenworth, U. S. War Department, Special Planning Division, *Report on the Status of Demobilization and Postwar Planning* (Washington, DC, 30 June 1944), 6.

¹⁸⁰ After months of indecision among executive branch agencies (primarily the State and War departments), President Roosevelt finally placed the responsibility for military government and civil affairs with the War Department -- the U. S. Army, in his letter to Secretary of War Harry L. Stimson, on 10 November 1943. To say that this decision was well received within the U. S. government agencies would be a huge exaggeration. Moreover, many elements within the military organization did not look with pleasure on this new mission. Nonetheless, the Army got the mission, at least temporarily, and decided to prepare as best they could; thus, a training program and school were established and civilian specialists put in uniform and trained to be civil affairs specialists who would “go ashore” with the combat units. See Ziemke, *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946*, Chapter I.

not agree on location of a Combined Civil Affairs Committee – London or Washington, D.C.¹⁸¹

American and British philosophy of civil affairs differed. The British planned for civil affairs and military government together, whereas the U. S. Army looked at the two concepts differently. Civil affairs would deal with liberated countries, and work through existing political-civil arrangements offering indirect assistance; whereas military government would deal with occupied (enemy) countries, instituting changes in the laws, institutions, and administrators as necessary, engaging directly in these tasks.¹⁸² In the end, both the British and U. S. governments concluded separate accords with German-occupied countries in which civil affairs support would assist in liberation and reconstruction activities.

The difficulties over establishing common ground at the government levels played out in establishing civil affairs organizations at the SHAEF level. Lieutenant General Sir Frederick C. Morgan, tasked to set up the civil affairs organization at SHAEF, remarked,

There were plenty of affairs, but the difficulty was to keep them civil. Which is little to be wondered at when one considers how indifferently the normal course of military training is designed to equip the soldier to tackle all the great problems of government here involved. And, paradox of paradoxes, it needed little perspicacity to see that the ultimate object of all our operations in so far as we had one, was to set up or reestablish some form of government in all the territories we were to liberate or capture from the enemy. We had been given no political object for our campaign so we had to assume one, or rather several. It was just not possible to proceed without one for, sooner or later, and we naturally hoped sooner, would arise the situation where we should have overrun large areas of Europe with the crucial battle still in progress in the heart of the Continent. These overrun areas would contain a hotch-potch of inhabitants of many categories, races and states of salvation over whom some form of control must be exercised by someone and over whom moreover the Supreme Allied Commander must have some species of domination.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Looking at several sources, the basis of disagreement was over the restoration of British colonies after the war ended. These sources suggest that President Roosevelt did not want U. S. forces involved in restoring (anyone's) colonies.

¹⁸² This is this author's understanding of the views of Harry L. Coles and Albert K. Weinberg in *United States Army in World War II, Special Studies, Civil Affairs: Soldiers become Governors* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office), 1986.

¹⁸³ Pogue, *The Supreme Command*, 76, and Lt-Gen Sir Frederick C. Morgan. *Overture to Overlord*, 231.

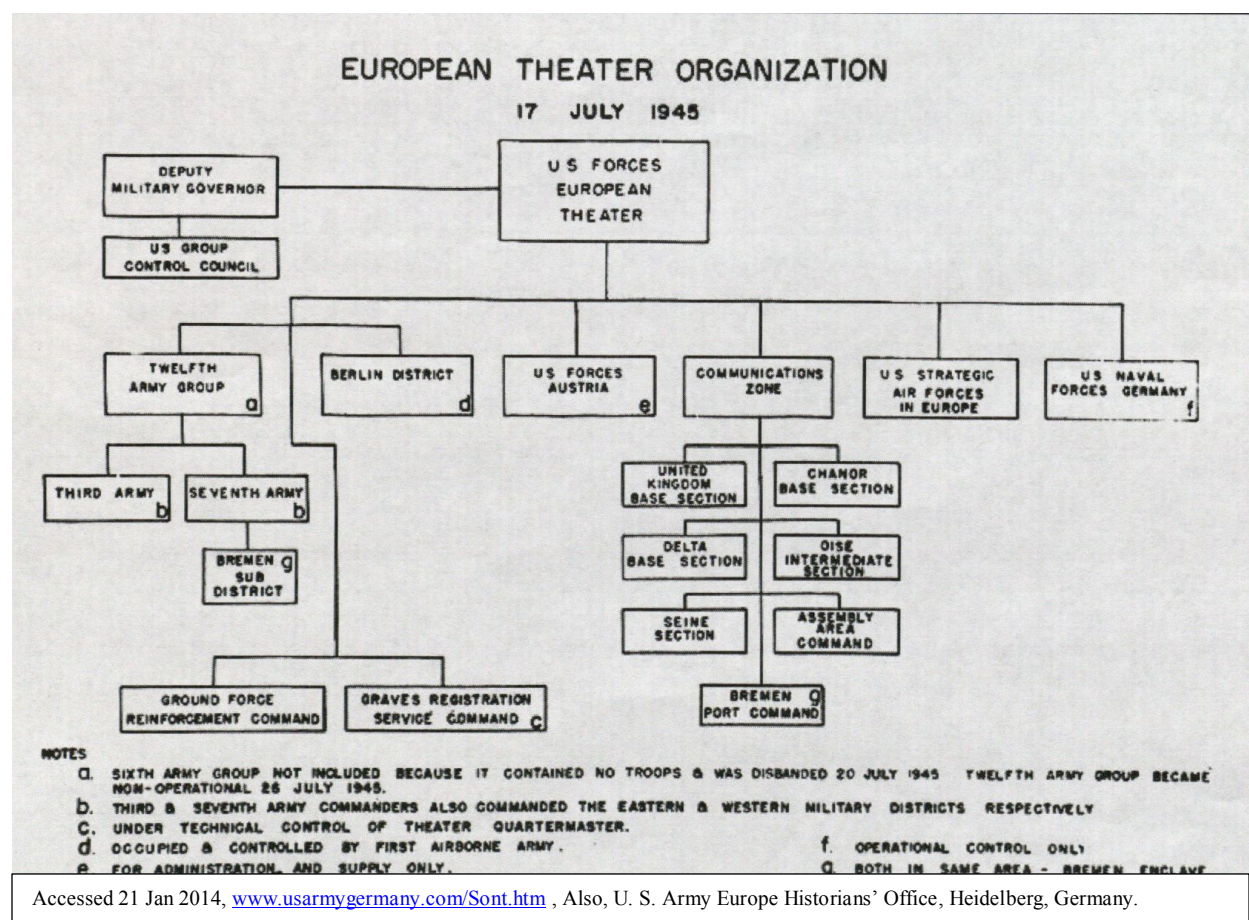
Lt.- Gen. Morgan raised the critical question, “Where is the guidance for this mission?” Equally important, and an issue that SHAEF’s predecessor, the Supreme Allied Command (SAC) had worked through earlier, “Will the civil affairs/military government organization be independent from the military structure in place providing security if and as needed?” The Chief of Staff for the Supreme Allied Commander (COSSAC) staff eventually published a handbook on civil affairs in December 1943, making the military commanders responsible for civil affairs operations handled through the regular channels of their commands. SHAEF published a slight modification of this handbook in May 1944, allowing the Supreme Commander to delegate control over civil affairs activities with the commands in the field. Tactical commanders would have responsibility for civil affairs operations within their assigned area in accordance with SHAEF policies, at least while the war continued.

1.3 United States Forces European Theater (USFET)

SHAEF, created as a combined, fighting headquarters to finish planning for - and to execute Operation OVERLORD, was deactivated on 14 July 1945. ETOUSA reorganized into the United States Forces European Theater (USFET). Replacing SHAEF as the U. S. national tactical, operational and military government organization on the ground in Europe from 1 July 1945 to 15 March 1947, ETOUSA moved the main headquarters from Paris to Frankfurt. USFET-Rear remained in Paris. General Joseph T. McNarney replaced General Eisenhower as the USFET commander as well as Military Governor for the U. S. Occupation mission in Germany in late November 1945. Lieutenant General Lucius D. Clay assumed the duties of Deputy Military Governor, responsible for the military government mission headquartered in Berlin (OMGUS).

The USFET as of July 1945 (see chart below), distinctly displayed its inherited logistics organization under the Communications Zone: specifically the base sections, a holdover from the SOS organization of Britain days in 1943 when SOS Commander General John C. H. Lee crafted these organizations based on regional and mission requirements.

Chart III.1.3



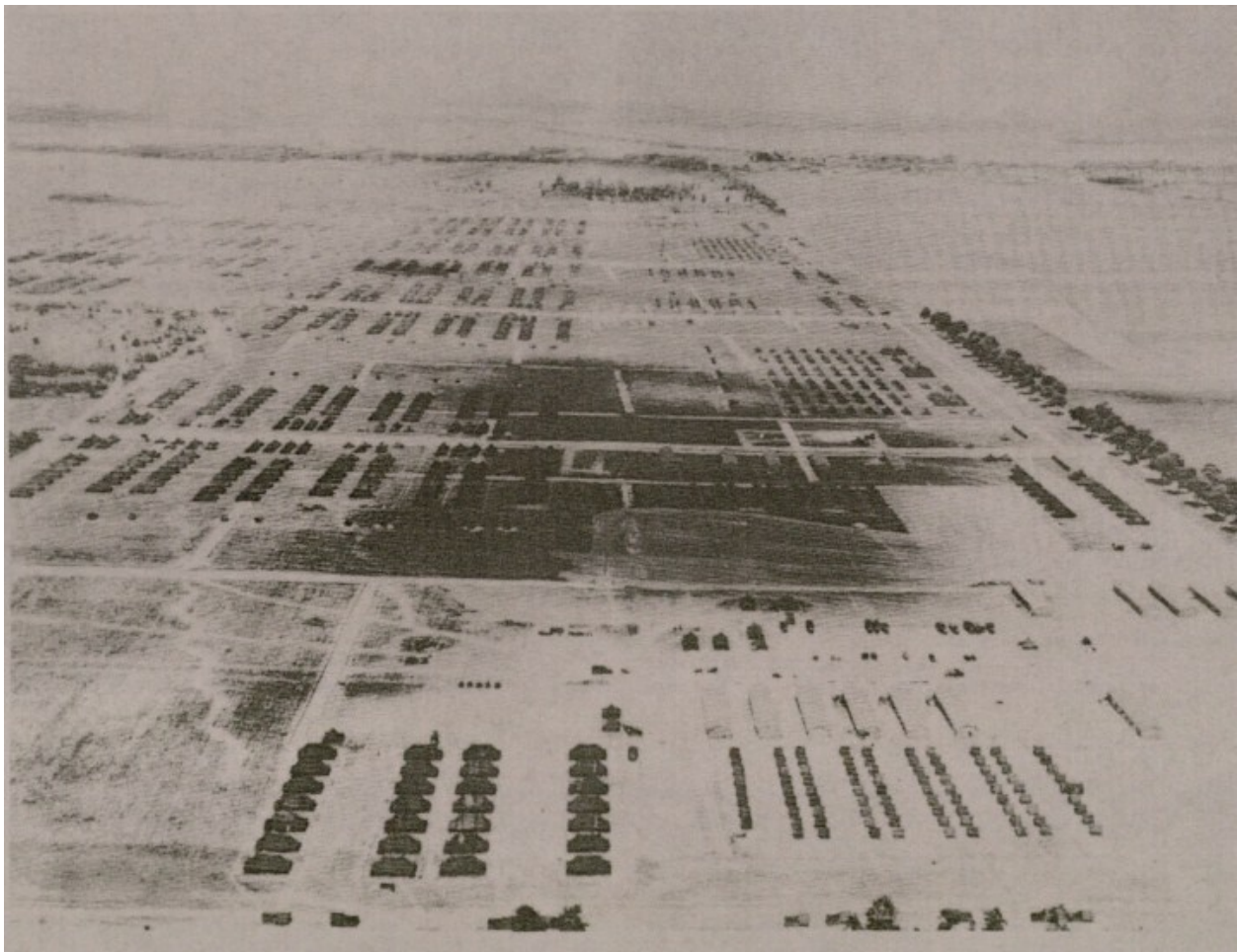
1.4 Communications Zone.

The Communications Zone in the chart above transformed into the Theater Support Forces, effective 1 August 1945. The regional logistics sections, however, survived as service commands primarily to support redeployment efforts: United Kingdom Base Section, Chanor Base Section, Delta Base Section, Oise Intermediate Section, Seine Section, Assembly Area Command and the Bremen Port Command. The Chanor Base Section (combined Channel and

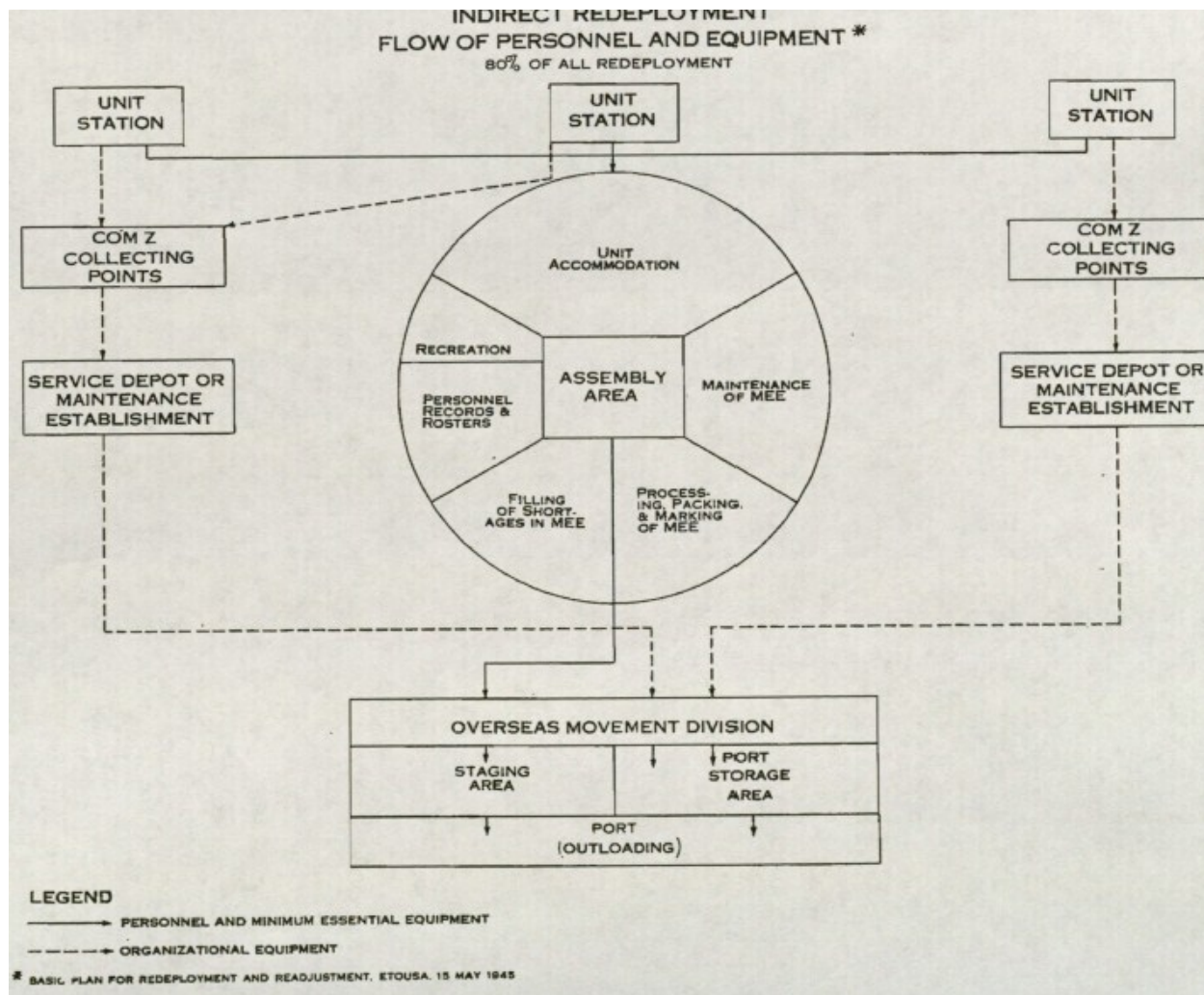
Normandy base sections) located in northwestern France and Belgium, the United Kingdom Base Section, and the Delta Base Section operating out of the Marseilles area -- all primarily responsible for port arrival and departures, for received, classified, stored and forwarded supplies during combat, and for reversing the process during the redeployment phase after combat. The Oise Intermediate Section, located just east of Paris, northeast of the Delta Base Section to the French-German border, served as a major storage area for theater reserves, taking the pressure off the ports and reconfiguring logistics packages for forward movement. The Delta Base Section,¹⁸⁴ adding a redeployment mission to its task list after the war, managed three redeployment centers: Calas Staging Area, about 10 kilometers northeast of Marseilles, St. Victoret Staging Area about 20 kilometers northwest of Marseilles, and the Arles Staging Area, about 92 kilometers northwest of Marseilles. The Oise Section also housed the so-called “Cigarette Camps” that served as assembly areas for units moving forward into the battle and redeployment centers after the war, shipping soldiers to the Pacific Theater or returning service members to the United States. The Seine Section, a relatively small area surrounding Paris, provided storage for the military headquarters located in and around Paris. Bremen Port Command becoming the primary port of entry for logistics for the U. S. Occupation Force joined the log bases only after U. S. engineer units cleared both Bremerhaven and Bremen ports of the debris and mines left by retreating German forces. The first port began operations in June 1945, and the other port in September 1945. Finally, the Assembly Area Command, headquartered near Reims, France, served initially as an assembly area during the war, then a redeployment

¹⁸⁴ U. S. Army. Combined Arms Research Library. *History, Delta Base Section*. Reprint from a 1945 publication. Ft. Leavenworth, KS, 1986.

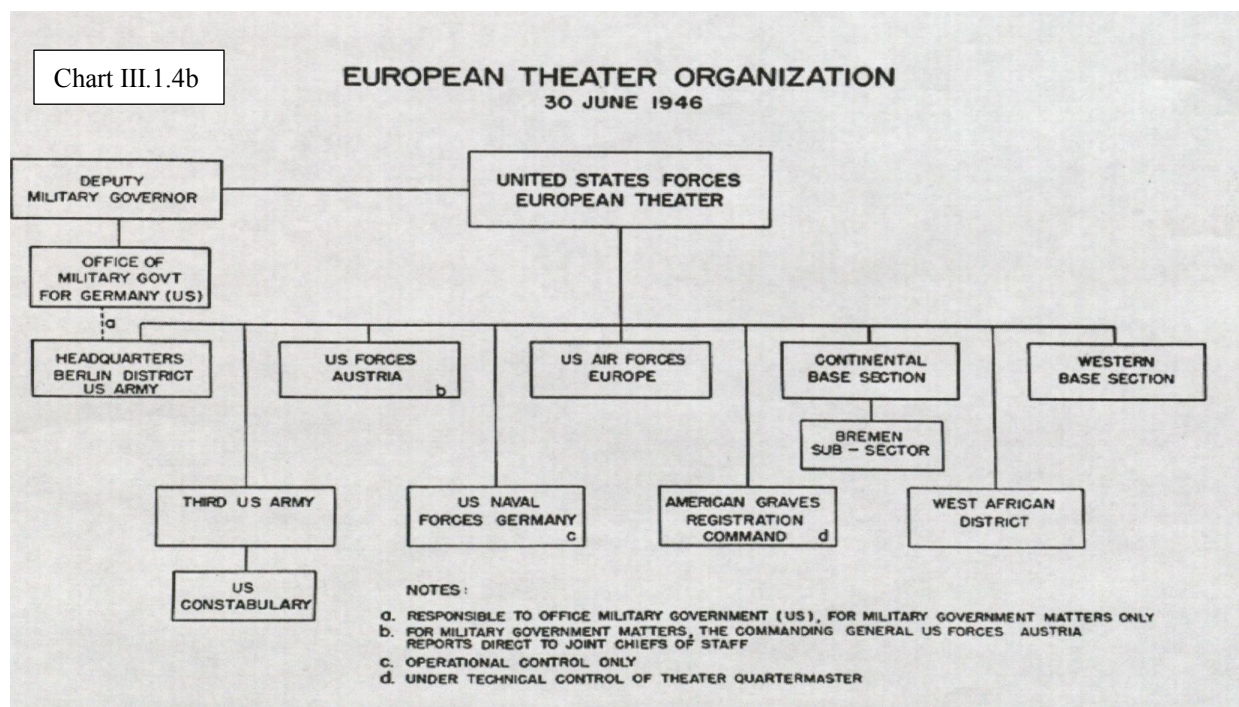
Original planning estimates called for building to a capacity for 270,000 personnel at a time, but shortly after capitulation this number climbed to 294,000. Facilities, winterized tents, and huts for support facilities, complete utilities, roads, walks and hardstands for vehicles could not be built quickly enough to house the incoming units readying for redeployment. One example of the dimensions of these camps is shown below in an overview of Camp Baltimore. Following the overview, is a diagram of the general outlay of these “city camps.”¹⁸⁶



¹⁸⁶ Department of the Army, The Quartermaster School, *Quartermaster Supply in the European Theater of Operations in World War II, Vol. X, Redeployment* (Fort Lee, 15 June 1949).



The Communications Zone and its successor, Theater Service Forces (Chart III.1.4a, below), discharged two critical missions in support of the U. S. occupation force during the first post-war year: resupply forward to the forces in the U. S. occupation zone and redeployment of approximately three million service members out of the theater. By June 1946, with the completion of most of the personnel redeployment, much of the base section-line of communications through France could downsize and eventually close its doors – at least for the remainder of the occupation period. Correspondingly, command structures adjusted to the new reality of reduced force structure. However, the assumed reality of reduced logistics missions



1.5 Headquarters, European Command (HQ EUCOM)

The Headquarters European Command (HQ EUCOM) replaced USFET effective 15 March 1947, with General Lucius D. Clay dual-hatted as its commander and as the Military Governor for the U. S. occupation zone in Germany, replacing General McNarney. A close scrutiny of the Headquarters Command EUCOM organization chart, 1 July 1947 (Chart III.1.5, below) offers a view into the nature of the logistics missions, and also into the sprawl of soldier and community activities U. S. Army Europe oversaw – suggesting the huge growth in organization and support structure in the U. S. occupation zone.

In addition to the early-established Post Exchange (formerly Army Exchange Service) and Special Service staffs, HQ EUCOM also sported staff sections responsible for the Dependents School System, a Music Center, the German Youth Program and a Visitors' Bureau. Also in this timeframe, U. S. Army Europe began consolidating military communities and moving more families from German housing in scattered communities into German *Kasernen*

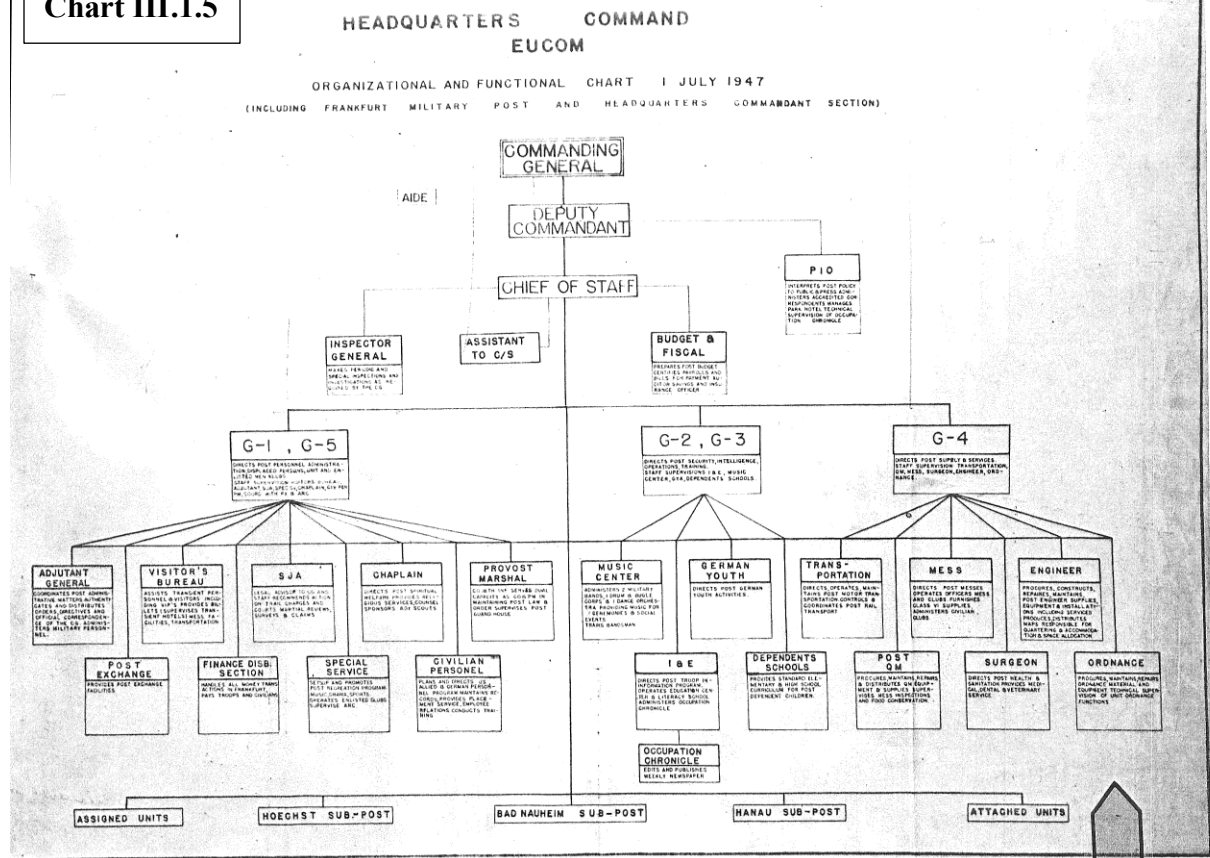
vacated by repatriation or relocation of most of the Displaced Persons, creating the first Little Americas in the process. Senior Army leaders had long since stopped talking about a one-year military occupation, although many still hoped that a civilian administration would replace the military government soonest. However, as early as 18 May 1945, *The Stars and Stripes* quoted Lieutenant General Lucius Clay, General Eisenhower's designated Deputy Governor for the soon-to-form U. S. military government in Berlin, at a Paris press conference, "The U. S. has established a stern, long-term military government in Germany and will keep American forces in the *Reich* for a long time."¹⁸⁹ Although General Eisenhower, in correspondence with President Truman later in the year, argued for a one-year limit to military authority over the U. S. occupation, and President Truman wrote that such a plan was "desirable," no such decision was forthcoming.¹⁹⁰ Further, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, in his "Stuttgart Address" on 6 September 1946, told his audience of American service members and a selected group of German citizens: "Security forces will probably have to remain in Germany for a long period. I want no misunderstanding. We will not shirk our duty. We are not withdrawing. We are staying here. As long as there is an occupation army in Germany, American armed forces will be part of that occupation army."¹⁹¹ Moreover, Secretary of State Byrnes' address hinted at the difficulties within the Allied Control Council in agreeing on execution of the Potsdam Protocol, suggesting that the desired world peace was not yet in sight.

¹⁸⁹ Richard Lewis, "Stern Military Government to Rule Reich Many Years," *The Stars and Stripes*, (18 May 45), 1.

¹⁹⁰ General Eisenhower to President Truman, 26 Oct 1945, and President Truman to General Eisenhower, 2 Nov 1945. Both letters on file at the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library, shelved in the B File.

¹⁹¹ Committee on Foreign Relations, U. S. Senate, Stuttgart Address by Secretary of State Byrnes, September 6, 1946, 87th Cong, 1st sess., *Documents on Germany, 1944-1961* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1961), 60.

Chart III.1.5



Six months after formation of HQ EUCOM, on 15 September 1947, the United States Air Force Europe activated as a separate military organization under the National Military Establishment headed by a Secretary of Defense James Forrestal.¹⁹² The HQ European Command reorganized as the United States Army in Europe (USAREUR), on 1 August 1952, remaining in Heidelberg as the senior Army command in Europe. The U. S. European Command (USEUCOM) activated as a joint command, subordinating Air, Army and Naval forces in Europe under its command structure, with headquarters in Stuttgart-Vaihingen.¹⁹³

¹⁹² Under the National Security Act of 1947, Public Law 253, 80th Cong, 1st sess, (July 26, 1947), Chapter 343, the Department of War became Department of Army.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

1.6 The 1st Infantry Division in Germany.

During World War II, the 1st Infantry Division (1st ID) entered Germany through Aachen in September 1944, one component of the first American fighting force on German soil. After fighting through Germany, division elements eventually reached Ansbach, in Bavaria, Bavaria being the predominant location of 1st Infantry Division forces during the occupation. The typical infantry division at this time, with attached medical, chaplain and band, numbered approximately 14,253 personnel assigned.¹⁹⁴ Further, these numbers increased with the arrival of family members as early as April 1946, on the first boatload of family members to Germany. Appendix III.3 proffers a sense of 1st Infantry Division organization and the scattered locations to which the units deployed.

2. Missions of U. S. Military Occupation Forces in Germany.

As one of four occupation forces in Germany, the U. S. Army shared execution of the Potsdam Protocol through the Office of Military Government United States in Germany (OMGUS). OMGUS assumed responsibility for the military government mission and its work with the Four Power Allied Control Council. U. S. Army forces executed the directives dictated in JCS 1067 and supplementing policies from OMGUS as missions. Agreements among the Allied Control Council members decreed that each force occupy its zone by 1 July 1945. The U. S. Army occupied Bavaria, Württemberg-Baden, Greater Hesse, the Bremen Enclave and its section in Berlin shortly after this deadline (see Appendix III.2.1).

USFET divided its southern German area into two military districts: Bavaria, the Eastern District under the Third Army and the rest as the Western District, (see Appendix III.2.2), to include the Bremen Enclave (see Appendix III.2.3) in northern Germany under the Seventh

¹⁹⁴ Stanton, Shelby L, *Order of Battle U.S. Army, World War II* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1984), 8-16, 75-77, 202-205, 394-396.

Army. The Berlin Sector remained a separate entity under OMGUS. Other than a small contingent of rotating combat units stationed in Berlin, and the units needed to manage the ports in the Enclave (predominantly U. S. Navy units) the majority of U. S. Army Forces remained in the Western and Eastern Military Districts. These units picked up the majority of the logistics missions facing the U. S. Army during the occupation.

The two military districts eventually reorganized into military communities (1947), akin to the garrison organizations in the continental United States. Three key considerations prompted this reorganization: reduction of forces and consolidation of remaining units, provision of a family-like community for soldier and dependents, and a push to return requisitioned facilities back to the German communities. The first issue, consolidation of troops, eased not only the logistics support mission, but also the ability of units to train. Moreover, by 1947, the U. S. Army, in conjunction with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), had repatriated many of the Displaced Persons, freeing up many kasernes. With the infusion of German Deutschmarks for repair of older kasernes and construction of new facilities for the Americans after 1949, these kasernes became the hubs for most of the American military communities in Germany, saving U. S. taxpayer dollars in the process. Consequently, the U. S. Army returned a number of requisitioned to the German communities. Further, with American families moving into the kasernes, opportunities to mingle with the German population dwindled as kasernes became “little Americas,” providing military families most of what communities back in the United States offered.

Aside from the day-to-day mission of logistically supporting U. S. Army Forces in the occupation zone, the biggest and most pressing initial mission for the remaining service members involved redeploying U. S. Forces to the Pacific Theater as the war with Japan raged on. As

redeployment progressed and more units returned to the States or deployed to the Pacific, only two complete tactical organizations remained in Germany: the 1st Infantry Division (1st ID), and the Constabulary (established between February and July 1946), formed from the 1st and 4th Armored Division -- wartime cavalry reconnaissance units. These two organizations with their support elements performed tactical and operational occupation missions, the 1st ID until 1954, and the Constabulary until German police forces took over the law and order mission in 1948. OMGUS, activated in October 1945, took over the military government mission from USFET until relieved of the mission by establishment of the High Commission on 21 September 1949, in accordance with the Occupation Statute, the Agreement on Basic Principles for Trizonal Fusion and the Declaration Placing Occupation Statute in Force.¹⁹⁵

The initial and immediate missions of the U. S. Army occupation force derived from JCS 1067, engaged the forces for the better part of the first two years of military occupation. While logistics support is inherent in any military mission, redeployment, repatriation of Displaced Persons and provision of nutrition, repair, reconstruction and technical assistance to the German population – herculean tasks – consumed an inordinate amount of resources and time. Those challenges will be described in Chapter IV.

2.1 Missions. Provide security, redeploy forces, repatriate Displaced Persons, logistically support the force, and assist the German population with critical infrastructure repair and procurement of food as necessary.

Secure. Until establishment of the High Commission in July 1949, the European Theater Commander held two positions: senior commander for U. S. Forces in the theater and Military Governor of the U. S. Occupation Zone. As senior commander, responsible to the U. S. War

¹⁹⁵ Velma Hasting Cassidy, compiler, *Germany 1947-1949, The Story in Documents, Occupation Statute*, 89-91; *Agreement on Basic Principles for Trizonal Fusion*, 91-92; *Termination of Military Government and Proclamation of Occupation Statute*, 321-323; Franklin M. Davis, Jr., *Come as a Conqueror* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1967), 165-174, 188.

Department initially and the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Department of the Army after 1947, the Theater Commander ensured the internal security within the zonal borders under a number of conditions, depending on the timeframe. Security concerns ranged from possible internal disruptions caused by disaffected pro-Nazi supporters, criminals, Displaced Persons seeking revenge against their former German captors, or even hungry people fighting for food. Initially, Occupation Forces restricted indigenous Germans from crossing occupation zones. Within a few months, Occupation Forces in the U. S and British zones relaxed this restriction, requiring only application for passes for temporary movements. External border security concerns focused necessarily at first on limiting the numbers of refugees fleeing from Eastern Europe, and preventing sought-after Nazi leaders from fleeing capture and eventual prosecution in Germany.

Redeploy. When the war in Europe ended, U. S. Army forces, as previously noted, engaged in redeployment activities – some forces scheduled for immediate transfer to the Pacific Theater while others returned to the States either for mustering out of the military or for further rerouting to the Pacific Theater. Redeployment, however, involved not only transferring personnel, but also their equipment, particularly equipment for those forces headed to the Pacific Theater. Gladwin Hill noted in a *New York Times*, 16 May 1945 article, “Year Needed to Shift War Gear from Europe to Pacific Theater.” He observed, “What is probably the biggest repairing and shipping project in history faces United States Army authorities in the European theater in transferring a large part of their forces and equipment to the Pacific in the next twelve months.” Put another way, General Joseph W. Stilwell, Commander, Army Ground Forces, commented in *The Stars and Stripes*, “Army Chiefs Stress Speed in V-E Shift,” on 9 April 1945, “We are shifting from a 3,000-mile haul across the Atlantic to a 7,000-mile haul across the Pacific.” Of course, in May 1945, not Gladwin Hill and probably not General Stilwell could have known

about the nuclear weapons destined for Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Nonetheless, with or without an active Pacific Theater, the U. S. Army in Europe had a tremendous mountain of material to return to the States, sell off to appropriate buyers, or destroy. Further, disposition of German war material added to the mission load. Hill wrote, quoting Brigadier General Morris W. Gilland, Assistant Chief of Staff (G-4, Supply), ETOUSA, that the Army in Europe at war's end, had approximately 5 ½ million long tons of supplies both in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Even recognizing as early as the fall of 1944 that the war was winding down, and reduction of the supply pipeline began, U. S. Armies received on average 25,000 tons¹⁹⁶ of material daily during the final four months of the war. Further, in addition to shipping some of these items to the Pacific, and returning shiploads to the States, logisticians had to calculate what kind and how much supplies the occupation force required. For example, General Gilland suggested that "food, clothing, post exchange supplies, housekeeping equipment, spare parts for reconditioning equipment, gasoline and lubricants, recreational and educational supplies and medical equipment" would provide the bulk of the 150 ships sent monthly to resupply the Army in Europe. He estimated that food alone for the force would take up approximately 70 of the 150 shiploads.

In addition to preparing and shipping material out of Europe, Army personnel had to set up and run the redeployment camps and prepare redeploying and returning soldiers for departure. According to *The Stars and Stripes*, 13 May 1945, American forces leaving the European Theater of Operations would ship out of four ports, Le Havre, Cherbourg, Antwerp and Marseilles, the first three for troops returning to the U.S., and Marseilles for Pacific-bound troops

¹⁹⁶ Note here that Liberty cargo ships transported most supplies to Europe. According to several sources, liberty ships could safely carry under full load displacement, 7000 tons of supplies. Weight, however was not the only factor used in uploading transportation vehicles. One had to consider also cube (space required) of the items shipped. Ships could cube out before they weighed out.

and equipment. In the same article, Brigadier General E. S. Eyster calculated that 3,000,000 soldiers would flow through the redeployment centers enroute to the U. S. or Pacific Theater. Thus, the “cigarette” and “American cities camps” sprung up.

Setting up these camps involved not only the facilities, but also, according to a *Stars and Stripes* 19 May 1945 article, most camps included arrangements for various entertainments to include, for example at the Delta Camps outside Marseilles, a 10,000-seat outdoor amphitheater equipped with two 35 mm movie projectors, and even a 2,400- seat capacity beer garden. Shown below are two pictures of recreational areas for redeploying service members in the Delta Base Section of southern France. The first picture is a casino and hotel in Cannes. The second





picture is the enlisted service member beach in Nice. Both facilities were requisitioned by the U. S. Army solely for military forces and their quests.¹⁹⁷ Further, while the soldiers waited to depart, they could engage in every possible sport activity, peruse the library offerings, and even take advantage of selected educational opportunities. Keep the soldiers busy until they depart – that was the objective.

Repatriate. At the same time that forces relocated to their assigned occupation zones, approximately six million Displaced Persons (DPs) required settlement, either repatriation to their home countries or resettlement elsewhere. This group, comprised of the Displaced Persons

¹⁹⁷ Both pictures from Department of the Army, The Quartermaster School, *Quartermaster Supply in the European Theater of Operations in World War II, Vol. X, Redeployment* (Fort Lee, 15 June 1949).

(slave laborers), political, racial and war prisoners held by the German Nazi authorities, constituted a complex problem requiring urgent action not only temporarily to house and feed people from across Europe, but to return them to their home countries or resettle them somewhere. Although the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration¹⁹⁸ officially took over the mission of administering the Displaced Persons camps in October 1945, the U. S. Army occupation forces remained responsible for supplying and transporting persons in DP camps within the U. S. occupation zone. According to a G-5, USFET Information Bulletin,¹⁹⁹ SHAEF (combined British and American forces) repatriated approximately 3.36 million DPs by July 1945. Chapter IV provides a deeper discussion of this mission.

Support the Force. JCS 1067 and its successor document, JCS 1779, conferred upon the Office of Military Government in Germany, United States (OMGUS) full responsibility for the execution and implementation of U. S. policy – civilian and military – within the U. S. occupation zone. However, the U. S. Army was also responsible for law and order within the U. S. occupation zone, as well as administrative and disciplinary control of all U. S. civilian and military personnel employed by or detailed to the organization. Administrative control included all facets of logistics: manning, feeding, housing, financing and medical care for the force, transporting, maintaining equipment, arming, communicating, building and repairing buildings. Chapter IV provides an in-depth discussion of this mission.

Support local population. Although JCS 1067 expressed the intent that the Germans fend for themselves as best they could, military leaders realized relatively early two quintessential issues:

¹⁹⁸ “United Nations” in this sense refers to a term supposedly coined by President Roosevelt in 1942-1943 to refer to the nations united against the Axis powers. Founded in 1943, UNRRA eventually became part of the United Nations, formed in 1945, but was disbanded in early 1947, and its missions transferred to various other organizations. The DP mission transferred to the International Relief Organization in June-July 1947. Approximately two-thirds of the funds appropriated for UNRRA came from the U. S. government.

¹⁹⁹ Information Branch, G-5 Division, USFET, *Weekly Information Bulletin* 1 (Frankfurt: Germany, July 28, 1945), 25.

first, convincing a hungry occupied people that democracy works evoked little positive response; second, inoperable infrastructure – particularly utilities, transportation, and communications – worked no better for the occupation forces than for the local population. In this case, repudiating the political created the logistical.

Headquarters Detachment E1C3, Company C, 3d European Civilian Affairs (ECA) Regiment, detailed to Stuttgart in July 1945, noted in its initial weekly report to the Commanding General, Seventh Army, several critical supply issues. Most notable was a critical shortage of coal that would paralyze not only industrial operations but also public utilities and eventually heating and related household operations. Additionally, shortage of labor, transportation assets and basic supplies hampered harvesting of crops, creating probable food shortages over the upcoming winter. Moreover, shortages of fuel and oil products would derail the critical “T” – transportation itself. Without a working transportation system, nothing moved.

The U. S. Army had shipped locomotives and rail cars to the European Theater to support military operations. This foresight allowed the U. S. Army to assist tremendously with the tasks of postwar relief and reconstruction. According to Brigadier General Morris W. Gilland, the ETOUSA G-4, quoted by Gladwin Hill in a *New York Times* article on May 16, 1945, approximately “1,900 special-size locomotives and 20,000 freight cars, [were] now being used on 11,000 miles of railroads.” However, before even these rail cars could move damaged German engines, cars, rail track and bridges required either repair or rebuilding. U. S. Army logisticians – quartermaster supply, engineers, and transporters – all engaged in this repair, restoration and rebuilding effort during the early occupation period. In most cases, even though local communities galvanized German labor to perform the actual work, U. S. forces often planned, supervised, and provided equipment and necessary supplies. In addition to the above

primary missions, U. S. Army forces also supported military government missions as discussed below.

2.2 Implement the Four Ds: Demilitarize, Denazify, Decartelize, Democratize

The U. S. Military Governor represented U. S. interests at the Allied Control Council. OMGUS' responsibilities included oversight of the "4Ds" within the U. S. occupation zone: demilitarize, decartelize, denazify, and democratize. Demilitarization and decartelization activities were closely entwined with deindustrialization, decentralization, Levels of Industry and reparations. Likewise, denazification and democratization activities often overlapped. The 4D mission fell primarily to OMGUS for policy direction, and to the scattered civil affairs officers and selected Army forces in the field for execution. Military staffs and many tactical military service members in subordinate units carried out little of the day-to-day work, although logisticians often supplied transportation assets and drivers while technical specialists, especially engineers, provided supervision over the German labor involved in demilitarization projects. Nonetheless, a brief discussion follows as these OMGUS missions kept the occupation force in Germany until the U. S. Government realized they might have to begin remilitarizing Germany, albeit eventually under NATO.

Demilitarization to eliminate or at least mitigate the threat of German armed forces resurgence had not worked in Germany after World War I. Therefore, the World War II Allied Powers structured the demilitarization clauses in the Potsdam Protocol to read, "complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production."²⁰⁰ In this regard, the Potsdam Protocol demilitarization clauses were two-pronged. First, all military and semi-military organizations, clubs and associations furthering military traditions would be "completely and finally abolished

²⁰⁰ Velma Hastings Cassidy, *Germany 1947-1949*, 48.

in such manner as permanently to prevent the revival or reorganization of German militarism and Nazism.”²⁰¹ Further, Allied Control Council Proclamation No. 2, dated 20 September 1945, disbanded the German military forces, prohibited any type of military training, and formation of any type of organization that might carry on the German military tradition, regardless of whether the group professed to be political, educational, religious, recreational, industrial or athletic. At the U. S. occupation forces level, JCS 1067 initially, and JCS 1779 after July 1947, specified objectives,²⁰² while finally, *USFET Military Government Regulations, Title 11, Industry*, effective 1 March 1946, covered practices and procedures for U. S. Forces in the control and supervision of German industry, to include demolition, removal for reparations, or destruction. *Title 13, Trade and Commerce* and *Title 16, Finance*, provided guidance that aimed to “achieve the financial disarmament of Germany.”²⁰³ Second, occupation forces accepted, inventoried, and stored targeted military and industrial equipment, supervised destruction and demilitarization of this material, or redirected German military equipment as reparations to liberated countries.²⁰⁴

The Potsdam Protocol mandated decartelization of the German economy, the breaking up of associations formed to control marketing arrangements and to regulate prices, “for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as exemplified in particular by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements.”²⁰⁵ The Allies were convinced that the German-peculiar economic organizations, many formed in the late 19th century, helped set the stage for the growth of Nazism in Germany. Gustav Stolper, an émigré

²⁰¹ Ibid., Part II.A.3.i(b).

²⁰² Velma Hastings Cassidy, *Germany 1947-1949. The Story in Documents*, JCS 1067: Part I, paragraphs 6- Denazification and 7- Demilitarization, 24-25; Part II, paragraph 16 – Deindustrialization, 26-27; and Part III – Financial (and Decartelization), 30-33. JCS 1779: Part III, paragraph 4- Demilitarization, 34; Part V, paragraphs 15-19 and 21 – on Deindustrialization and Decartelization, 37-40.

²⁰³ Headquarters, U. S. Forces European Theater, *Military Government Regulations, Title 13, Trade and Commerce and Title 16, Finance* (Frankfurt, 30 November 1945, with subsequent changes).

²⁰⁴ Ibid., Sections 11-321, 322, 323.

²⁰⁵ Velma Hastings Cassidy, compiler, *Germany 1947-1949. The Story in Documents*. Protocol of the Proceedings of the Berlin Conference. Part II.B12, 49.

Austrian economist, in an older narrative, *German Realities*, Chapter IX, “Socialization and Decartellization,” discussed the historical background and implications of German decartelization culturally and economically.²⁰⁶ David Calleo explained that German industry in the late 19th century, especially in the fields of chemicals, for example, *I. G. Farbenindustrie*, electricity and optics, developed large-scale industrial conglomerations, many often with a particular big bank in their back pockets, competing particularly against American and British economic concerns and interests. Distinguishing the German arrangements from other nations, “each industry was dominated by a few giant firms closely linked with the big banks. All depended heavily upon high technology and foreign trade, the former nurtured through close links with universities and research institutes, the latter served by a well-organized commercial and diplomatic network.”²⁰⁷

The German government, and particularly Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, during his long tenure, aimed to protect German industrial and agricultural production with high tariffs against cheaper prices from competitors. These cartels supported Germany during World War I, suffered under the terms of the Versailles Treaty, reemerged in the mid-1920s, and were subordinated to the Nazi economic machine after 1933. Why the Allies would call for decentralization of German industry except to limit Germany’s war-making capability and

²⁰⁶ For the basic “Plan of Allied Control Council for Reparations and the Level of Post-War German Economy, 28 March 1946 (Appendix D);” and “The President’s Economic Mission to Germany and Austria, 18 March 1947,” by former President Herbert Hoover (Appendix E). Also, see Stolper, *German Realities*, Chapter VIII, War Potential, for a basic but critical commentary of German industrialization and economic future. Lewis H. Brown, at the request of the U. S. Military Governor, General Lucius Clay, visited Germany in 1947 to provide a realistic report on the status of German industry and production. The results of his research appear as *A Report on Germany* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1947). As with another private citizen-industrial/finance expert, Lewis W. Douglas, brought to Germany early in the occupation to analyze the economic situation of Germany and to propose recommendations to revive German industrial production, Lewis Brown’s Report fell on closed minds. Kramer, *The West German Economy, 1945-1955*, Chapter 4 – Economic Recovery 1945-1948, offers a more current report on the German economy, and the issue of decartelization. Additionally, see in Kramer, Document 2.2 for the Control Council Plan for Reparations and the Level of Post-War German Economy, 28 March 1946.

²⁰⁷ David Calleo, *The German Problem Reconsidered: Germany and the World Order, 1870 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 63.

potential is unclear. Targeting cartels, (Potsdam Protocol, paragraph 12), seems a bit like “the pot calling the kettle black,” as both the United States and Great Britain allowed democratic versions of cartels in monopoly form. Regardless, execution of decartelization, as with the other 4D measures, fell to the occupation governments. Diethelm Prowe, wrote a long-overdue article on the “Economic Democracy in Post-War Germany: Corporate Crisis Response, 1945-1948,”²⁰⁸ in which he questioned the emphasis placed by the Allies on such issues as the “undemocratic” German economic systems, e.g., decartelization. In fact, democratically oriented systems existed, e.g., -- *Industrie- und Handelskammer* since the eighteenth century -- survived the Nazi takeover, and supported the military occupation after the war.

For in contrast to government offices, which had been directly integrated into the Nazi state, the chambers had maintained a degree of autonomy even under Hitler and were therefore able to reconstitute themselves in their pre-Nazi form immediately upon the arrival of the occupying forces. Because their technical personnel had an intimate knowledge of the regional economies and had, in fact, in their Nazi incarnation of *Gauwirtschaftskammern*, handled much of the wartime raw materials distribution, they were indispensable to the early occupation governments, who were unfamiliar with the details of the German economy. The chambers were thus a natural early focus of reform efforts.²⁰⁹

The Potsdam Protocol directed denazification – the dissolution of the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP) and all of its affiliates and organizations. Additionally, the Protocol called for abolition of Nazi laws and for the arrest, internment and prosecution of war criminals, Nazi leaders and high officials, influential supporters, as well as party members “who have been more than nominal members in [the Nazi Party] activities.”²¹⁰ The Allied Control Council followed suit with Proclamation Number 2, primarily Sections I and XI, and a number of laws, orders and directives implementing the

²⁰⁸ Diethelm Prowe, “Economic Democracy in Post-World War II Germany: Corporatist Crisis Response, 1945-1948,” *The Journal of Modern History* 57, no. 3, (September 1985).

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 453-454.

²¹⁰ Velma Hastings Cassidy, *Germany 1947-1949. The Story in Documents*, 49, Part II.A.4 and A.6.

Proclamation and the Protocol declaration. Specifically, ACC Directive Number 38²¹¹ established five categories of persons deemed responsible for supporting National Socialism,²¹² and therefore subject, as a minimum, to rigorous scrutiny (at least on paper). Although not officially effective until 12 October 1946, the basic parameters of the Directive were well represented earlier among the occupation powers.

For the U. S. occupation forces assigned to the denazification boards, JCS 1067, Part I, paragraph 6, specified criteria on which to determine a level of individual participation with the extensive National Socialist organization. However, such concepts as “avowed believers in Nazism or racial and militaristic creeds,” or “voluntarily given substantial moral or material support,” or “more than nominal participants,” proved difficult to establish in many cases. Alone, determining who qualified as a nominal Party member proved difficult, too often left to the interpretation of American officials and later approved German board members, involved in the denazification process in the U. S. occupation zone.

However defined, the denazification process caused much hardship on German families where the breadwinner received a classification barring him (or her) from a profession, position or other means of earning a living, and thus supporting a family. Although an appeals process existed, months and even years could follow before a hearing was granted – if a hearing was granted. More importantly, employees and workers, once designated in all but the last category of “Groups of Persons Responsible,” (Category 5, Persons Exonerated), and dismissed from their

²¹¹ Legal Division, Office of Military Government for Germany, Allied Control Authority Directive 38: “The Arrest and Punishment of War Criminals, Nazis and Militarists and the Internment, Control and Surveillance of Potentially Dangerous Germans,” *Enactments and Approved Papers of the Control Council and Coordinating Committee, Allied Control Authority*, Volume V, 12-26.

²¹² The five categories as listed in Frederick Taylor, *Exorcising Hitler: the Occupation and Denazification of Germany* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2011), 261. Also, listed in ACC Directive Number 38: I. Major Offenders (*Hauptschuldige*), II. Activists, Militants and Profiteers, or Incriminated Persons (*Belastete*), III. Less Incriminated (*Minderbelastete*), IV. Followers, or Fellow Travelers (*Mitläufer*), and V. Exonerated, or non-incriminated persons (*Entlastete*)

positions, created irreplaceable gaps in the labor force. When one examines the JCS 1067 list, for example, those people with more than nominal participation in the Nazi party and involved in “industry, commerce, agriculture and finance, education, the press, publishing houses and other agencies disseminating news and propaganda,” probably lost their positions, setting back reconstruction, the byproduct of which meant lengthening the occupation, according to Frederick Taylor.²¹³

Whether the denazification process – at least that process exercised in the U. S. occupation zone, lengthened the military occupation remains a debatable issue. However, one particularly critical profession in support of the democratization efforts – teaching - was hit hard by these rules with percentages of teachers barred from teaching upwards of 50% in most areas, resulting in what teachers remained after denazification, or even during the process, to teach often in shifts to a student population of seventy or more students per one teacher. Furthermore, because of U. S. military government closure of higher education institutions, and pending proposed changes to the teacher education process, in Württemberg-Baden, for example, the first class of new teachers did not graduate until the summer of 1947.

While the process of capture, indictment, internment and prosecution or dismissal of individuals suspected under the ACC and U. S. provisions ensued, U. S. soldiers served as justice officials, security forces, prison guards and even executioners for those awaiting or carrying out their sentences. Additionally, on occasion U. S. forces raided communities to confiscate forbidden materials – weapons, literature, and other Nazi memorabilia – all part of the denazification program.

Of the 4Ds, the demilitarization (deindustrialization for many observers), decartelization and denazification processes ranked among most observers as the punishment phase of

²¹³ Frederick Taylor, *Exorcising Hitler: the Occupation and Denazification of Germany*, 255, 269.

occupation government. Of these three processes, execution of the denazification process rated a failure, primarily because of the military governments' lack of clarity in defining categories, the inconsistency in punishment, and once the process transferred to German boards, the intimidation factor between defendant and prosecutor often resulted in lesser or no charges (the so-called *Persilschein*, or whitewashing effect). As one unnamed German noted, many of the Big Fish got away, and too many of the Little Folks were punished. John Gimbel, in *A German Community under American Occupation: Marburg, 1945-1952*,²¹⁴ categorizes the 4Ds into two groups: the three mentioned above as "The Punitive Program," and the fourth, Democratization, as the "Constructive Program." Gimbel, as part of the U. S. military government contingent in Hessen and actively engaged in the "Constructive Program," certainly had a voice on the issue of success of American policies, and many of his observations, for example, on the denazification process are applicable for the other *Länder* in the U. S. occupation zone. However, perhaps he was too close to the issues, particularly the education and school reform issue, to be objective on all counts. Constantine Fitzgibbon, *Denazification*, Perry Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, and Frederick Taylor, *Exorcising Hitler: the Occupation and Denazification of Germany*, have written substantive manuscripts that document the denazification process in readable fashion. As with John Gimbel, these three authors graded the denazification process a failure. They have the advantage of distance and time as more material was undoubtedly available to them.

The fourth process, the "Constructive Program" as John Gimbel paradoxically described Democratization, changed terms over the tenure of the U. S. military government reconfiguring as re-education, reconstruction, reform, and finally reorientation. The intent of military

²¹⁴ John Gimbel, *A German Community under American Occupation: Marburg, 1945-1952* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961).

government policy in this area, however, remained relatively constant. According to Alonzo Grace, “reeducation and reorientation of the German people has been an established policy of the United States from December, 1941 to the present. The long-range goal of this policy has been to restore an intellectual, spiritual and cultural life based on the principles of freedom, social justice, brotherhood, and individual responsibility for matters of public concern.”²¹⁵ John Gimbel writes a different epitaph:

Americans, educated and conditioned to believe in the American dream and guided by policy statements, worked – crusaded – for an ideal: a peaceful, democratic, free-enterprise Germany. Reaching to the lowest German administrative levels, American detachments ferreted out the people who would deny their purpose. They destroyed institutions and tried to modify or reform others that they believed made peace, democracy, and free enterprise unattainable. They tried to reorient the German people themselves to accept and espouse democratic political and social ideals. In effect, American policy would have transformed Germany. It would have uprooted people and traditions, shattered customs, prejudices, and other non-rationally assumed practices and myths, substituting therefore other people, traditions, customs, prejudices, practices, and myths.²¹⁶

American policymakers in the overseas military government decreed that education, writ-large, would be the vehicle of choice to drive toward democratization. This program therefore included any medium that served as a potential conduit to the German population: newspapers, radio, theater, music, books, the school system, and eventually people-to-people exchange programs. Each of these issues has been extensively researched, and particularly by German specialists in the last quarter century. For the purposes of this research that focuses on school reform, James F. Tent, in *Mission on the Rhine: Reeducation and Denazification in American-Occupied Germany*, provides the most inclusive, English-language version of the four

²¹⁵ Alonzo Grace, Script presentation for Armed Forces Network radio program, *Town Meeting on the Air* in Berlin on 12 July 1949. Württembergisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart, Germany.

²¹⁶ John Gimbel, *A German Community under American Occupation: Marburg, 1945-1952*, 200.

occupation governments' roles in revamping the German education system, from *Grundschule* through vocational training, professional schools and the university.

Two U. S. military government agencies shared in the reeducation task: Information Control/Information Services Division and the Education and Religious Affairs Division (ERAD; Education and Cultural Affairs Division (ECAD) after 1948). OMGUS determined policy, Civil Affairs officers throughout the U. S. occupation zone carried out the policies, and military forces engaged in support of the various stages of implementation, providing basic logistics support, e.g., transportation assets.

3. Conclusion.

U. S., British and Canadian forces came ashore on the West European continent at six Normandy beaches on 6 June 1944. At that time, the U.S. Army Services of Supply (SOS) under the command of Lieutenant General John C. H. Lee totaled 434,497 of the 1,549,080 U. S. Army service members²¹⁷ – close to one-third of the total U. S. force landing at three of the six beaches (Omaha, Utah and Pointe du Hoc) involved in the Normandy campaign. By December 1944, Army Service Forces (SOS to the troops) reflected a one-SOS soldier-to-two-combat soldier ratio (1:2). By 30 April 1945, the ratio was again at about one-SOS soldier-to-three-combat soldiers (1:3), as the total U. S. Army force on the Continent had jumped to 3,065,505, of which 979,637 soldiers belonged to the SOS.²¹⁸ Furthermore, by 31 May 1945, these SOS soldiers had moved over 47 million long tons²¹⁹ of logistics resources onto the European continent.²²⁰ This was the beginning of the U. S. Army's long logistics haul into occupied Germany in support of its forces and eventually their family members.

²¹⁷ Lieutenant Colonel Randolph Leigh, *American Enterprise in Europe: the Role of the SOS in the Defeat of Germany*, (Paris, 1945), 13-14.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

²¹⁹ One long ton = 2,240 U. S. pounds; one metric ton = 2,204.6 U. S. pounds

²²⁰ Leigh, *American Enterprise in Europe: the Role of the SOS in the Defeat of Germany*, 15.

The personnel strength numbers declined quickly after Germany capitulated and as the war in the Pacific continued and soldiers redeployed, based on a predetermined point system, the Adjusted Service Rating,²²¹ home or to the Pacific Theater. Nonetheless, the logistics support mission, albeit in smaller numbers, shifted from war support to other non-traditional missions ranging from infrastructure repair and humanitarian support to Displaced Persons, refugees, Expellees and indigenous Germans. The U.S. Army remained in Germany as part of the occupation government, both military (1945-1949) and civilian (1949-1955).

By 1955, ten years after the Allies achieved their unconditional surrender, the U. S. Army had deployed in West Germany approximately 250,000 service members and roughly 200,000 family members, in at least 263 acquired and rent-free German *Kasernen* (military installations) and facilities.²²² The infrastructure required to sustain the mission and support these personnel included medical facilities, schools, and a host of other logistics facilities. From the early days after World War II, U. S. Army logistics support and infrastructure grew to accommodate the military mission in an ever growing and increasingly high technology environment. Although the numbers would expand or contract depending on security incidents, the total U. S. force figures remained over the 200,000 range until 1991, when the U. S. Department of Defense began drawing down forces stationed in Europe.

How did the hoped-for short U. S. Army occupation after World War II develop into long-range stationing of forces on German soil? The expansion of U. S. Army logistics support and infrastructure commitments supporting the U. S. presence in Germany follows.

²²¹ Ziemke, *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany 1944-1946*, 328-329.

²²² Numbers vary according to sources. Whether Air Force figures are mixed in was not specified. Note also that at this time (1955), the U. S. forces (mostly Air Force but some Army) had an additional 55,000+ service members with additional family members scattered in France primarily supporting and securing the pipelines.

Chapter IV: Support the Military Force, the Displaced Persons and Family

In a tale of war, the reader's mind is filled with the fighting. The battle – with its vivid scenes, its moving incidents, its plain and tremendous results – excites imagination and commands attention. The eye is fixed on the fighting brigades as they move amid the smoke, on the swarming figures of the enemy, on the general serene and determined, mounted in the middle of his staff. The long trailing line of communications is unnoticed. The fierce glory that plays on red, triumphant bayonets dazzles the observer, nor does he care to look behind to where along a thousand miles of rail, road and river, the convoys are crawling to the front in uninterrupted succession. Victory is the beautiful, bright coloured flower. Transport is the stem without which it could never have blossomed.²²³

PART A. Support the Force.

Introduction: Logistics matters. The birth of Little Americas.

Once it became apparent that U. S. forces would be deployed for some considerable time, the U. S. War Department underwrote and encouraged occupation servicemember participation in programs and activities akin to those in hometown America. This commitment explains many of the nuances of American life in occupied Germany: the athletic programs, movie theaters, college and technical courses offered, layout of the local newspapers, household provisions for sale in the Post Exchanges, and ice cream parlors providing favorite American flavors. The U. S. Army even corralled German breweries in several areas within its occupation zone to provide good German beer to the troops. Of course, various American beers, e.g., Budweiser in an olive drab can, continued to be shipped overseas. Various considerations buttressed this position, ranging from retaining the authorized personnel strength in occupied Germany to providing incentives to placate troops waiting to return to the United States or to entice others to volunteer for occupation duty.²²⁴ In fact, to keep occupation strengths current, as part of the Regular Army

²²³ Winston Churchill, *The River War*, 1902. Quoted from David C. Rutenberg, *The Logistics of Waging War – American Logistics, 1774-1985, Emphasizing the Development of Airpower*, (Wright Patterson Air Force Base: Ohio, 1989), 117.

²²⁴ The Selective Training and Service Act (STSA) of 1940 remained in effect with modifications until 1973, e.g., the Extension in 1946 and a revamping in 1948 when the STSA 1940 expired, so Americans were still being drafted

enlistment program worldwide, the U. S. Army in Europe, taking advantage of improved reenlistment benefits, aggressively recruited to retain enlisted service members in Germany. According to the U. S. Army, European Command, 51,140 service members reenlisted between October 1945 and July 1946.²²⁵ Of course, not all elected to remain in the occupation force structure and military requirements could always trump individual choice.

Further, medical issues - the ever-increasing venereal disease rate among soldiers and concern for exposure to potential and sometimes real epidemics within the civilian population - caused concern. Additionally an official non-fraternization policy existed until 1 October 1945, along with the broad-based mentality at some senior leadership levels that the U. S. troops and German civilians should not mix socially. Providing practically all the comforts of home, thus limiting comingling of German and U. S. troop populations and easing the boredom of restless servicemembers did not discourage fraternization, but did result in development of embryonic Little Americas.

However, to conclude that providing for the U. S. servicemember constituted the total logistics support effort in the U. S. occupation zone belies the reality of the war's destruction. As Captain Ned A. Holsten argued in an analysis of the first years of the occupation, the military government mission of furthering national policies, in this case, the Potsdam Protocol, included obligations, imposed by international law and the customs of war, to the surrendered civilian population. Holsten stressed, "War is a duality: destruction and reconstruction. It is far less costly to rebuild indigenous resources and productive capacity than it is to continue direct

for military service, albeit in considerably smaller numbers than during World War II. Relative to the U. S. Army in Europe, "military necessity" could be used to retain military personnel in critical specialties for limited periods not to exceed six months past the redeployment date. There was an excess of "Negro" soldiers, about 75% over the allowance, in occupied Germany and integrating them into other than like units was not being done after the war. Assignment choices appear to have been more restricted for these soldiers. See Office of the Chief Historian, European Command, *Occupation Forces in Europe Series, 1945-1946, First Year, Part V* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1947), Chapter XI.

²²⁵ Ibid., 36-37.

relief.”²²⁶ Therefore, in addition to supplying its own forces, the U. S. Army supported the civilian population in critical ways.

Colonel Stanley Andrews, travelling to his new assignment at the U. S. Army Forces, European Theater (USFET) in Frankfurt, in late summer 1945, wrote:

Next morning I bid my jeep driver “so long” and boarded the old workhorse of the Army, C-47, which lumbered off the runway loaded with almost everything from beer to truck parts. I was the lone passenger. Our winding flight [from Salzburg] through the passes into the Bavarian Alps was, as always, breathtaking in beauty and when we broke out under the clouds in Southern Germany the peaceful fields glowing with ripening wheat, green meadows, the patches of pine trees always perched high on the hills and the doll-like picture book villages below, seemed as peaceful as a summer in the country which had never seen war. The appearance was deceiving as I was later to learn, but even then one could not but be impressed with the cleanliness, the carefully laid out villages, and the scrubbed and prosperous look of this part of Germany.²²⁷

Clarification for the apparent deception of the peaceful fields and scrubbed and prosperous look of the villages arrived shortly. Labor and equipment to harvest the crops that summer failed to appear. Harvesting efforts suffered from lack of men in the fields, shortage of harvesting equipment, repair parts, the inability to manufacture replacement equipment, and lack of fuel and transportation to move the harvest to production, storage or to the markets.

War-caused destruction considerably reduced freedom of movement, particularly through the larger cities and industrial areas. Typical of the first few months after German surrender, a young U. S. Army servicemember would arrive for duty in Berlin after a two-week trip across the Atlantic aboard a Liberty ship that had landed at Antwerp, a rocky train ride across northern Germany and finally a truck ride to Berlin. The port at Antwerp had suffered limited war

²²⁶ Ned A. Holsten, “Military Government Logistics,” *Military Review* XXXIII, no. 6, (September 1953): 57, 61.

²²⁷ Stanley Andrews, *The Journal of a Retread* (Alamo, Texas, 1971), 400-401. Colonel Andrews wrote, “[This is] One civilian-turned soldier’s view of the problems, activities, situations, experiences, successes, and failures encountered in Military Government, Food, Agriculture and Forestry Division, in World War II behind the combat lines, North Africa to Sicily, Italy, Austria, West Germany, and later in a thirteen-nation survey of food problems in Asia as related to the recovery of Japan – the period December 1941 to December 1951.” Stanley Andrews also served as Director, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture, 1949-1951, and Director, Technical Cooperation Administration (Point Four Program), 1952-1953.

damage, unlike Bremen or Bremerhaven that were not 100% operational until the fall of 1945. The trip to Berlin by British military train across the northern portion of Germany, through the heavily damaged areas around Köln, Wuppertal, Dortmund, Bielefeld, Hannover, and finally, after a longer stopover in Braunschweig, on to Helmstedt, then by U. S. Army 2 ½ ton truck from Helmstedt, through the Soviet occupation zone to Berlin, did not come with a guaranteed arrival time or date. The cities passed through en route, most, heavily damaged from the Allied strategic bombing campaign, contrasted sharply with the panoramic view of the countryside in between. However, reaching Berlin seemed almost like home. The U. S. Army Headquarters even published a newspaper, *The Berlin Sentinel*, (25 Sep 45) that commented on U. S. military forces working with the German woodcutters in the *Grunewald* stocking heating fuel. Additionally, the Armed Forces Network radio stations, films showing at theaters around town, the weather report for the region, sports stories from back home, and even the favorite ice cream flavors at the Post Exchange (PX) ice cream parlor made the news.

Both vignettes hint at the scope of logistics support required in occupied Germany. From supporting summer harvests with personnel and transportation assets to repairing and rebuilding bridges, roads, rail tracks and utility infrastructure, the U. S. Army was often called upon, providing critical support as needed. Moreover, the local population, Displaced Persons and refugees required aid to maintain a minimum standard of living until the economic recovery kicked in or repatriation lessened the burden of supporting Displaced Persons and refugees. Compounding the situation as well as increasing over time the logistics support required, U. S. occupation authorities had not expected that a large number of Displaced Persons would refuse repatriation, thus requiring alternate arrangements not only for their future settlement but also for longer-term services within the centers.

This chapter discusses both levels of logistics support: support to military forces broken down into organizational categories and support to civilian populations, though to a lesser degree. This chapter also includes a section on Lines of Communications (LOC). Without a LOC logistics does not function.

1. What units remained where to support? Logistics is everything.

The major Allied military commands on the ground in western Germany at war's end included the 6th and 12th U. S. Army Groups, elements of the 21st combined British-Canadian Army Group (with some attached U. S. units) in central and northern Germany. The First French and Seventh U. S. armies under the 6th U. S. Army Group, having successfully landed at Toulon on 15 August 1944 (Operation DRAGOON/ANVIL) and fought their way north through central France, crossed the French-German border and were scattered over southwestern Germany. Reorganization and redeployment began almost immediately following capitulation, on 12 May 1945 (R Day), with approximately 90,000 of the over three million U. S. Army forces scattered over Germany with a few in Austria and Czechoslovakia, leaving the European Theater of Operations (ETO) almost immediately. Some headed home; others headed to the war in the Pacific. By the end of June 1945, 313,298 service members departed the ETO. According to Major General Charles P. Gross, Chief, U. S. Army Transportation Corps, the U. S. Army would redeploy forces from Germany as follows:²²⁸

Number of Force Redeployed	Timeframe
845,000, or approximately 285,000 per month	June-August 1945
1,185,000, or approximately 395,000 per month	September-November 1945
870,000, or approximately 269,000 per month	December 1945-February 1946
Redeployment to continue until approximately 400,000 personnel remained in the U. S. occupation force structure. (Actually, the force reached close to a further reduced Occupational Troop Basis of 300,000 military personnel.)	By 1 July 1946

²²⁸ "Three Million Will Leave," *The Stars & Stripes*, (12 May 1945).

These numbers, culled from General Gross' May 1945 *Stars & Stripes* article dropped significantly lower by the end of 1946 – to approximately 188,000. Strength figures were moving targets in Washington, for the months following the end of the conflict ensured that military budgets came under critical review.

Between May and December 1945, the U. S. First, Sixth, Ninth armies, 12th Army Group, and the XVIII Airborne Corps had cased their colors and returned to the United States. SHAEF, its combat mission completed, deactivated on 10 July 1945. The British-Canadian 21st Army Group renamed and restructured as the British Army of the Rhine, assuming occupation duty in the British occupation zone effective 25 August 1945. Of the remaining two U. S. Armies, the Seventh inactivated by March 1946, leaving the Third Army in Germany until 1947, when it, too returned to the United States. Most of the Third Army's combat forces however, returned earlier. The 1st Infantry Division and the newly forming Constabulary (1946), both totaling approximately 25,000 soldiers, remained in Germany along with an odd regiment or two and a slew of support units.

Each occupation force moved into its assigned zone in July 1945 (see Appendix III.2.1). Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States agreed on the final occupation zones in London on 12 September 1944. Further, modifications on 14 November 1944 and 26 July 1945²²⁹ resulted in a French occupation zone carved out of the initially agreed upon British and American zones. The ports of Bremen/Bremerhaven lay in the British occupation zone, but by agreements between Great Britain and the U. S., Britain ceded the port area to the U. S., giving the U. S. Army access to critical port facilities for resupply efforts.²³⁰ This Bremen Enclave

²²⁹ For the London Protocol: accessed 9 Sep 2013, <http://www.verfassungen.de/de/de45-49/besatzungszonenprotokoll45.htm>,

²³⁰ The Bremerhaven-Bremen ports transferred from the British to the U. S. Army 20 May 1945.

became the primary debarkation/embarkation not only for U. S. Army resupply, but also for personnel and family members, replacing to a large degree, the Belgian port at Antwerp.

U. S. occupation forces were assigned Württemberg-Baden, the greater part of Hessen, Bavaria, the Bremen Enclave and its sector in Berlin. Two military districts, each with an Army command -- the Seventh Army in Hessen and Württemberg-Baden (Western Military District), and the Third Army in Bavaria (Eastern Military District), comprised the major organizations within the southern U. S. occupation zone. The Army's Theater Supply Services rested externally with the Communications Zone (COMMZ), in France, and internally in Germany (to include Bremerhaven that was a part of the COMMZ), with the G4 logistics staff at USFET in Frankfurt.

2. Logistics Reality on the Ground.

The Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U. S. Forces of Occupation (JCS 1067) explicitly stated:

As a member of the Control Council and as zone commander, you will be guided by the principle that controls upon the German economy may be imposed to the extent that such controls may be necessary to achieve the objectives enumerated in paragraph 4²³¹ above and also as they may be essential to protect the safety and meet the needs of the occupying forces and assure the production and maintenance of goods and services required to prevent starvation or such disease and unrest as would endanger these forces. No action will be taken in execution of the reparations program or otherwise which would tend to support basic living conditions in Germany or in your zone on a higher level than that existing in any one of the neighboring United Nations.²³²

²³¹ JCS 1067, written in late 1944, was given to General Eisenhower in April 1945, and officially published in October 1945. Paragraph 4 spells out the Basic Objectives of Military Government in Germany: (a) Germans are responsible for the war damage; (b) Germany will be occupied as a defeated nation; (c) The principal objective of the occupation is to prevent Germany from threatening world peace; (d) Other objectives include: a program of reparations and restitution, to provide relief for countries devastated by Nazi aggression; ensure the prisoners of war and Displaced Persons are cared for and repatriated.

²³² Cassidy, *Germany 1947-1949. The Story in Documents*, "1945 Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U. S. Forces of Occupation (JCS 1067)," (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1950), 23-25.

U. S. military forces faced immediate and critical problems on the ground. Aside from food shortages within the German civilian population not immediately apparent, transportation posed the most critical issue. Rail track, rail bridges and roads damaged throughout the country from the Allied strategic bombing campaign, as well as destruction of infrastructure by Wehrmacht units to delay the Allied advances, severely hampered the movement of Allied supplies and personnel. Moreover, Displaced Persons as well as refugees fleeing Eastern Europe clogged the roadways. The U. S. Army had transportation assets but with bridges down, rails off track, and roads cluttered, the vehicles and rail cars stood more or less still. Additionally, the Allied Control Commission dictated that occupation forces move into their assigned zones by 1 July 1945. Chaos reigned for about two weeks as national units crossed other national units moving from warfighting locations into their respective occupation zones. American units had been fighting with the British in northern Germany and had to relocate to their assigned zone in southern Germany. The French had to move west of the Rhine and south of the Stuttgart area, and so it went.

As the war ended, many U. S. units found themselves in northern and eastern Germany moving to their zone in late June-early July 1945. Once in their zone, U. S. forces faced not only the immediate specter of obvious destruction of structures in and around the larger towns and cities, but also major infrastructure damage to critical utilities – electric, water, sanitation facilities, and heating systems. Fortunately, to accomplish their mission, many senior commanders interpreted JCS 1067 instructions liberally to “protect the safety, meet the needs of the occupying forces, and assure the production and maintenance of goods and services required to prevent starvation or such disease and unrest as would endanger these forces.” Stuttgart, in Württemberg, serves as an example of the support U. S. Army forces provided in establishing at

least minimum living standards not only for the German population but also for themselves. As it turned out, Stuttgart would house U. S. Army forces for decades following occupation.

Stuttgart, in the designated U. S. occupation zone, Western Military District, received at least fifty-three Allied bombing raids between August 1940 and April 1945, resulting in approximately 12,000 explosives and 1,300,000 incendiary bombs. Stuttgart and its near-surroundings, historically a regional industrial center and transportation hub, home to Daimler-Benz (tank and aircraft engines), Robert Bosch (electronics equipment), Nahle K. G. (pistons), Vereinigte Kugellagerfabriken (ball bearings), and H. Hirth (aircraft parts), presented a relatively high priority target. Along with these industrial targets, two international railroad routes – west to east and north to south meeting in Stuttgart provided equally high priority targets. Unfortunately, however, precision air raids did not occur often in the 1940s. According to the “United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Summary Report, September 30, 1945,”²³³ depending on the vagaries of weather, and enemy defensive and offensive opposition, the target area consisted of “a circle having a radius of 1000 feet around the aiming point of attack. While accuracy improved during the war, Survey studies show that, in the over-all, only about 20% of the bombs aimed at precision targets fell with this target area.” It would no doubt be accurate to suggest that even if the bombs missed their intended targets, they hit something. Subsequently, in the process of destroying industrial and rail targets, many of which were in the middle of the city, raids damaged or destroyed approximately one third of the dwelling spaces in Stuttgart.²³⁴

In addition to Allied air raid damage, in late April 1945, retreating German troops blew up all

²³³ The Secretary of War launched “The United States Strategic Bombing Survey” program on 3 November 1944, as directed by President Roosevelt. (2013; repr. New Delhi: Isha Books), 5.

²³⁴ Beckmann. “Report about reconstruction of Stuttgart since 1945,” (4 November 1948): 3. OMGUS Microfiche 12-221-3/5. Baden-Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart, Germany. Beckmann provides the following statistics: of 150,000 dwellings, 52,579 apartments were uninhabitable at the end of the war. The city’s population decreased from approximately 500,000 in 1939 to approximately 272,000 by May 1945. Most civilians evacuated because of the constant air raids.

Neckar River bridges save the one destroyed by an October 1944 air raid, two railroad viaducts, seven road bridges and two pedestrian bridges, leaving one pedestrian bridge standing, virtually cutting off the city from its historic transportation routes.

Internally, the city fared little better with debris from damaged and destroyed buildings littering the roads and thoroughfares. Picking up bricks a few at a time made for romantic prose, as described in newspaper articles and later novels, but did little for rapid clearance of the debris. The U. S. Army would eventually support debris removal with the necessary technical equipment and fuel. The 100th U. S. Infantry Division, if near full strength at over 13,000 soldiers, moved into the Stuttgart vicinity on 7 July 1945 -- Stuttgart, a city faced with approximately 40% infrastructure damage. In addition to its organic²³⁵ combat forces, and presuming the division arrived more or less with all its assigned assets, a military police platoon, an ordnance light maintenance company, a quartermaster company, a signal company, an engineer battalion and a medical battalion, as well as the various pieces of equipment, the division arrived, ready to provide critical reconstruction support.

U. S. Army Civil Affairs units had already arrived while the French Army²³⁶ occupied the area, and had assessed much of the damage. In a weekly consolidated report (30 June to 6 July 1945) from a U. S. Army Civil Affairs detachment in Württemberg-Baden, the acting regimental deputy commander, Lieutenant Colonel Auffinger writes under the heading, "Public Utilities and Works:"

Continued progress is being made in the repair and restoration of power light and water services. The gas supply has been drastically curtailed, due to the acute shortage of coal. Repairs of sewers and bridges are being retarded by lack of

²³⁵ Organic units are those units assigned to and forming an essential part of a military organization. Organic parts of a unit are those listed in its table of organization TOE for the Army, Air Force, and Marine Corps, and are assigned to the administrative organizations of the operating forces for the Navy. Accessed 25 Aug 14, Military Terms and Definitions, militaryterms.net

²³⁶ The French First Army entered and occupied Stuttgart on 21 April 1945.

sufficiently high priority to obtain cement from the plants, which are controlled by U. S. Army Engineers. Roads are being repaired under U. S. Army Engineer Corps supervision. The control of the central civilian road maintenance agency, however is exercised by this headquarters. Upon presentation of appropriate orders indicating a high degree of priority, the Detachment at Öhringen (WS2867) authorized the release of lumber for the reconstruction of a railway bridge on the outskirts of the town. This railway bridge is being constructed by German civilian engineers, at the direction of the MRS [U. S. Military Railway Service] Headquarters, Esslingen, (WS 1218).²³⁷

Lieutenant Colonel Auffinger also noted several critical shortages that required addressing before winter set in. Coal and fuel topped the list of shortages. Without substantial coal deliveries, industry, public utilities and food processing plants could not sustain demand. Even if coal production returned immediately to pre-war production, without petroleum, oil and lubricants (POL) and functioning transportation assets, delivery to consumers, including the U. S. Army forces, could not occur.

The human factor also entered into play: Decimated by war losses and prisoners of war not yet released, labor for the coalmines, for gathering harvests, for reconstruction and technical tasks sank to minimum levels. Additionally, products imported earlier, e.g., sugar beets and garden seeds, historically procured from Halle, but blocked from export from the Soviet occupation zone by the Soviet Military Government, or fertilizer produced locally but now forbidden from production under the unconditional surrender terms, were either in extremely short supply or unavailable. Wood could (and did to some degree) replace coal and fuel shortages but transportation remained the long pole in the tent.²³⁸

Finally, Germany's capitulation officially released millions of Displaced Persons forced to labor for the Nazi regime that had previously provided them with accommodations and food

²³⁷ George H. Auffinger, Jr., "Weekly Consolidated Report for Land Württemberg Covering 30 June to 6 July 1945 Inclusive." Military Government Germany, Headquarters Detachment E1C3, Company C, 3rd ECA Regt. Report No. 10 to The Commanding General, Seventh Army, APO 758, U. S. Army.

²³⁸ Ibid.

(however minimal). Now, these people were without a roof over their heads, food, or means to return to their homes. Initially, each occupation force assumed responsibility for the housing, care and feeding of Displaced Persons in its zone until the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) officially took over administration of the camps in October 1945. The military occupation forces retained responsibility for transportation, repatriation, and the provision of supplies not met by the local German population.²³⁹

2.1 U. S. Lines of Communication (LOC)

The birth of Little Americas in occupied Germany began with the establishment of Lines of Communication (LOC). The German term, *logistische Verbindung* – logistic connection – best defines line of communication. A line of communication forms a connection – a route – between a supply base and a supply user. These routes include ground, air (ALOC) and sea (SLOC) routes. Critical in military planning, selection of LOCs provide the lifeline to military units as few units can sustain themselves organically for long periods. In the case of the U. S. involvement in World War II in Europe, ground, sea and air LOCs played a critical role in resupplying not only U. S. forces but also the British and Soviet forces. The continental United States (Zone of Interior, or ZI) represented the principal supply base, with Great Britain often the intermediary supply base. Until the successful Operation OVERLORD, the western Allies could not establish a base on the European continent.

While perhaps not so critical – at least initially after Victory-in-Europe Day (V-E Day), resupply remained a top priority for U.S. occupation forces in Germany, particularly important, as the U.S. occupation zone was landlocked in south–central Germany. Air resupply could not

²³⁹ JCS 1067, Part I, Section 4 Basic Objectives of Military Government in Germany tasked the Commander in Chief of United States Forces of Occupation “to insure that prisoners of war and displaced persons of the United Nations are cared for and repatriated.” Cassidy, *Germany 1947-1949. The Story in Documents*, “1945 Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U. S. Forces of Occupation (JCS 1067),” 23.

even begin to provide the daily requirements of a force located so far away from its supply base in the Zone of the Interior. Both SLOCs and ground LOCs proved necessarily important. James Houston has written:

In those circumstances [occupation and military government in Germany] the setting up of a line of communications was principally a problem of administration to be worked out in the way that would be most economical and efficient. Little thought, supposedly, had to be given to tactical considerations in the disposition of troops and the facilities of the supply line serving them.²⁴⁰

However, Houston further observed that this “problem of administration” became a strategic consideration with the realization of “new aggression from the East” and the possibility of renewal of war, when it might be necessary to revise thinking on matters of delivering supplies.

To some degree this argument stands. However, although the tactical necessities of war ended officially on V-E Day, the realities on the ground created by the war begged resolution. Such resolution cost resources much of which came from outside Germany, most shipped in and transported via the LOCs by ground – truck or rail to the eventual user. Moreover, less than one year from V-E Day, following a decision to permit family members to join soldiers serving in the zone of occupation, family members of U. S. forces serving in Germany arrived in Bremerhaven, traveled the LOC by rail and truck to join their spouses stationed in the U. S. occupation zone. Family members’ presence in Germany required additional logistics support and resources.

While the German LOC eventually served as the primary supply route, three additional LOCs deserve notice. The first, a not so well known LOC, developed by the British to supply petroleum from storage tanks in southern England to the Allied forces in France following the Normandy landings proved a brilliant solution against the vagaries of both weather and unpredictable sea conditions. Fuel tankers in the English Channel made easy targets for German

²⁴⁰ James A. Huston, *Outposts and Allies: U. S. Army Logistics in the Cold War, 1945-1953* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1988), 91.

submarines or aircraft, so the British developed an under-the-channel pipeline. The second LOC across northern and up from southern France, and the third LOC, Antwerp-Maastricht-Wesel preceded the German LOC, only shutting down as repairs on Bremerhaven and Bremen ports completed and the ports able to take over the preponderance of the shipping load.

2.1.1 PLUTO, Pipeline under the Ocean.²⁴¹

PLUTO developed as a fix to the conundrum of fuel resupply on the European Continent in anticipation of Operation OVERLORD. British engineers long wrestled with this problem, and finally devised a method to set up a pipeline from England under the English Channel to Boulogne-sur-Mer and Cherbourg on the northern coast of France. After extensive studies and trial runs, PLUTO went operational in August 1944 and supplied about 120,000 gallons of gasoline per day to the British and American armies until after V-E Day.²⁴²

2.1.2 The French LOC: West to East through France.

The first established LOC for U. S. forces on the continent developed as part of OVERLORD (June 1944) in northern France and later DRAGOON (August 1944) operations in southern France – the primary effort to support tactical forces moving through northern France and into Germany. The first LOC went from the northwest coast of liberated France through France, following the fighting forces into Germany: Cherbourg once cleared of mines and destruction, through St. Lo, and on to Alençon, Chartres, Coubert, just south of Paris, to Chalons,

²⁴¹ For historical purposes, U. S. Army logisticians calculated the following POL usage during the last phase of continental European fighting (roughly January-May 1945), using approximate maximum fuel per day at 1.25 million gallons: 3,500 tanker rail cars, 1,056 tanker trucks, and 140 cargo trucks. Additionally, the U. S. Army imported 35 million five-gallon reusable gas cans and 1.5 million 55-gallon drums; used 120 barges; maintained and operated 7.5 million barrels of bulk storage; discharged a fleet of 86 tanker ships in constant service between the U. S. and Great Britain; operated a pipeline repair depot and can-repair depot, plus six mobile and six static petroleum testing laboratories; and engaged approximately 10,000 men in construction, storage, operation and distribution activities. U. S. Army, *Logistics*. “Oceans of Oil for Victory,” (April 1947): 21.

²⁴² “Operation PLUTO: the Story of the Channel Pipeline,” *The Quartermaster Review*, Washington DC: Defense Supply Association, (July-August 1945): 29, 112-113. Also, Adrian Searle, *PLUTO: Pipe-Line Under the Ocean* (Shanklin, Isle of Wight: Shanklin-Cline), 1995.

Verdun, Thionville and into Germany to Mainz.²⁴³ Even after the Normandy landings, resupply tested the ingenuity of logisticians until establishment of intermediate supply points into France and then Germany. After the successful Operation DRAGOON landing and fighting near Marseilles and northward from southern France, a second French LOC ran from Port de Bouc and Marseilles, north through Avignon, Livron, Chalon, Beaune, then northeast through Langres, Epinal and into Germany by Zweibrücken and eventually on to Mannheim.

After V-E Day, the French LOCs functioned primarily as redeployment camps and ports, wherein the French regained control of the LOC by mid-1946. As tensions increased between the United States and the Soviet Union, particularly after the Berlin Blockade, military planners, very much aware of the susceptibility of the German LOC to possible Soviet threats, revisited enhancing a French LOC. Negotiations for renewing a French LOC – known as the Donges-Metz LOC, began during 1949-1950. A French LOC would again provide supply routes for the U. S. Forces in Germany after 1950, and indeed would form the primary route for NATO's Central European Pipeline System (CEPS). Construction began in the late 1950s, and CEPS is still in operation today. This French LOC began on the west coast of France at Donges, approximately 19 km east from Saint-Nazaire, and proceeded eastward, north of Orleans, by Melun, north of Fontainebleau, Cambrai, St. Baussant, Vilcey-sur-Trey, south of Metz, Arriance, Hambach and into Germany to Zweibrücken. This LOC opened for business in 1951 and remained functional until the French President, Charles de Gaulle, ordered U. S. forces out of France in 1966.

²⁴³ "Pipelines W. W. II," Tony Orlando Papers, Box 1, Folder 9, U. S. Army Quartermaster Museum, Fort Lee, VA, Undated.

2.1.3 The German LOC: North to South, Bremerhaven, Bremen to the U. S. Zone of Occupation.

As of V-E Day, U. S. forces shipped supplies and personnel into eight of the twenty-one ports used during the war: Port de Bouc, Marseilles, Rouen, Cherbourg, Le Havre, Dieppe, Ghent and Antwerp.²⁴⁴ Of the eight ports, Marseilles and Antwerp allowed the largest discharge capacity – particularly for POL shipments.²⁴⁵ However, none of these ports provided in-country shipment. More importantly, “liberated countries” with sovereignty issues limited U. S. control over harbor use and charged port fees, whereas Germany no longer enjoyed the rights of sovereignty, nor charged port fees. The U. S. Army preferred a German port.

As British Forces pushed east and cleared sections of northern Germany, they captured and occupied two German ports: Bremen and Bremerhaven. Bremen, situated on both sides of the Weser River and approximately 74 kilometers from the North Sea, fulfilled historically critical functions to include industrial shipbuilding, ironworks, machine shops, fisheries, textile and grain mills and breweries, to name a few. Bremerhaven (earlier Wesermünde, and traditionally center of German emigration in the 19th and early 20th centuries), traditionally a port city at the mouth of the Weser River, directly accessed the North Sea. Because of their strategic locations and supportive military missions, both German ports ranked high on the Allied target

²⁴⁴ Port de Bouc is about 45 km west of Marseilles. Marseilles supported the movement of U.S. forces into southern France after the successful Operation DRAGOON in August 1944. Rouen was a critical inland port connected to Le Havre by the Seine River. Dieppe, although more interesting to the British historically because of the abortive 1942 Dieppe Raid, lacked adequate rail route connections and had no POL discharge capability to speak of. Cherbourg and Le Havre figured importantly in supporting forces moving out of the Operation OVERLORD beaches into France and eventually Germany. Of the two Belgian ports, Ghent and Antwerp, Antwerp was by far the more important with the largest number of berths handling Liberty ships and largest discharge capacity. Antwerp remained the port of choice for U. S. forces until Bremerhaven and Bremen achieved full operational status between June and September 1945. Ghent, Cherbourg and Rouen would close by October 1945, Le Havre by June 1946. Marseilles, although turned back to the French in April 1946, continued as a port of entry for the southern France LOC into Germany.

²⁴⁵ U. S. Army, Headquarters, European Command, *The Physical Plant – its Procurement, Construction and Maintenance* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Office of the Chief Historian European Command, 1947), 43-45.

list, and while the city of Bremerhaven suffered heavily from Allied strategic bombing,²⁴⁶ the port remained relatively unscathed. Not so the port of Bremen. At least twenty-eight heavy bomber air raids over Bremen took their toll, damaging port facilities, the primary rail station, Bremen-Ostlebenshausen, as well as essential rail and road bridges in and out of Bremen.

Bremen-Bremerhaven fell to the Scottish 51st Highland Division,²⁴⁷ at the end of April 1945. President Roosevelt had argued for the United States to receive the northwestern portion of Germany as its occupation zone primarily because direct access and control of the Bremerhaven-Bremen port facilities would ease redeployment of forces in Germany to the Pacific theater, but also ease U. S. Army demobilization efforts should the U. S. withdraw (early) from the occupation of Germany. Earl Ziemke, Forrest C. Pogue and Philip E. Mosely commented on President Roosevelt's favored position on assignment of occupation zones. Pogue documented that at least as early as late 1943, several memoranda between the President, and the War and State departments expressed the President's thought that, "The United States' postwar occupation would probably consist of one million troops and last for about two years."²⁴⁸ Mosely suggested that any number of British planners considered an early withdrawal of the United States from its occupation of Germany, leading them to conclude that if the U. S. forces were assigned the southwestern zone, and withdrew early, "The American zone could be taken over more conveniently by French forces."²⁴⁹ By spring 1944, agreements had been reached neither on occupation zones, nor on an even more pressing issue, designated access routes across the Soviet Zone into Berlin. Ziemke wrote, "In any event, at the time the United

²⁴⁶ According to various sources, approximately 97% of the city was destroyed during the Allied bombing campaigns; the harbor facilities remained unscathed. Huston *suggests* that this was intentional, allowing for immediate port access after the war.

²⁴⁷ British 3rd Infantry Division under General Lashmer GordonWhistler.

²⁴⁸ Forrest C. Pogue, *United States Army in World War II*, 349.

²⁴⁹ Philip E. Mosely, "The Occupation of Germany: New Light on How the Zones Were Drawn," *Foreign Affairs* 28, no. 4 (July 1950): 590.

States was far less interested in access to any place in Germany than in the exit from Europe, which the Bremen enclave provided.”²⁵⁰ However, the President eventually agreed at the Second Quebec Conference in September 1944 to accept the southern portion of Germany, with the caveat that U. S forces would have access to Bremen and Bremerhaven. Negotiations with the British resulted in establishment of the *Amerikanische Enklave*. Additionally, U.S. and British forces worked out an agreement on designated rail and road routes between the ports and the U. S. occupation zone (to include its Berlin sector). The second issue, designated access routes through the Soviet Zone into Berlin, was resolved only unofficially through assumptions that access was implied after the zone protocols were signed in November 1944 -- a cause for regret numerous times during the military occupation, most notably in 1948.

Agreements notwithstanding, the Bremen port required major transformation from mined access routes and rubble into an again-functioning port before the U. S. forces could use it. Major repair, if not reconstruction of the harbor, port and supporting infrastructures garnered high priority resulting in materiel and workforce dedicated toward completion of the project. Additionally, according to James A. Huston, costs associated with repair and use of both ports fell into the German marks fund (paid into by the German population through taxes) provided for in the Occupation Statutes.²⁵¹

The British handed the port facilities over to the U. S. 29th Infantry Division on 20 May 1945.²⁵² Initially, the Bremen Port Command, established under General Order No. 50 (11 April 1945) took command of port operations under the U. S. Communications Zone Command (later, Theater Support Forces) in June 1945, followed by the 17th Major Port Command about a year

²⁵⁰ Ziemke, *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany 1944-1946*, 115-126.

²⁵¹ James A. Huston, *Outposts and Allies: U. S. Army Logistics in the Cold War, 1945-1953*, 91.

²⁵² Finally, by September 1946, LTG Clay (U. S. Occupation Deputy Military Governor and General Robertson, the British Military Governor, agreed that the port portions of the Enclave would come exclusively under U. S. Military Government jurisdiction.

later.²⁵³ By 12 June 1945, the Bremerhaven Port opened for shipping. Bremen, refurbished, opened for full-load shipping business in mid-September 1945.²⁵⁴ With both German ports functioning at capacity by early 1946, U. S. forces could ramp down the Antwerp port operations (31 March 1946) that Allied forces had been using to support the forward movement of combat forces into Germany after Operation OVERLORD.²⁵⁵ The following example of the tonnage shipped into and unloaded from Bremerhaven in July 1945, represents approximately 20% of the cargo received by U. S. forces, unloaded at continental European ports.²⁵⁶

Date	Tonnage
June 1945	22,000 tons
July 1945	162,000 tons
April 1946	181,000 tons
July 1946 ²⁵⁷	58,000 tons

After arriving by ship, cargo travelled primarily by rail and truck from Bremen and Bremerhaven south to the U. S. Military Districts, or south and east to Berlin. Supplies for the military districts travelled along the following routes: Bremerhaven, Bremen, Hannover, Göttingen, Kassel, Hanau (or Fulda), Frankfurt, and then branched out to the southwest to Mannheim, Karlsruhe, south to Stuttgart, southeast to Augsburg, Munich and on to Salzburg, Austria, or southeast from Hanau to Würzburg, Bamberg, Nürnberg, Regensburg and Vienna. Supplies for Berlin travelled from Bremerhaven and Bremen south to Hannover and east through

²⁵³ By 15 March 1947, Bremerhaven port became officially the Bremerhaven Port of Embarkation (POE), replacing the 17th Major Port Command as the overall command organization.

²⁵⁴ *The Stars and Stripes*, "Bremen Fall Gives Allies Prize Port," 30 April 1945.

²⁵⁵ Between 26 November and 14 December 1944, British forces finally cleared the Scheldt River and surrounding area of German forces and mines, allowing sailing vessels to move freely to the Antwerp port area. By 14 Dec 44, Allied forces could unload approximately 19,000 tons of supplies daily, accessed 21 June 2013, http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/antwerp_and_world_war_two.htm

²⁵⁶ accessed 30 May 2013, <http://www.usarmygermany.com/Units/Occupation/Usareur17thMajorPort.htm>

²⁵⁷ Presumably, by July 1946, the majority of redeployment and demobilization had taken place. The U. S. Army strength was down to a little over 340,000.

Braunschweig, under agreement with the British occupation authorities, and then on to Magdeburg and Berlin, under agreement with the Soviet occupation authorities.²⁵⁸

The fourth LOC, the Northern System, primarily a petroleum pipeline, ran from Antwerp to Maastricht and finally to Wesel, serving both the British and the American forces. The last part of the line, from Maastricht to Wesel was completed in March 1945. Nonetheless, running POL through pipelines saved on scarce tanker or rail tanker cars. The U. S. Army scaled back operations in October 1945 as Bremen and Bremerhaven increasingly picked up the supply operations.

2.2 Supporting the Force.

As Franklin M. Davis and others have noted, “There is little doubt that the overall responsibility for coordinating the relationships of political factors to military realities lay with the President as Chief Executive and with the State Department as the principal foreign-policy agency of the United States Government.”²⁵⁹ Despite the strongly voiced opinions of senior military leaders, especially General Eisenhower, the U. S. Army and not the U. S. State Department, would administer post-World War II occupation government in Germany in the U.S. zone of occupation and its sector in Berlin. An Army general would represent the U. S. Government as the U. S. Military Governor. General Eisenhower attempted on several occasions

²⁵⁸ Several sources, e.g., USAREUR documents and James Huston, *Outposts and Allies*, cite routes with little variance. Regardless, immediately after war’s end, many of the routes and particularly rail bridges required various degrees of repair and reconstruction. As far as access to Berlin, as previously noted, the Allies never agreed to designate access routes through the Soviet Zone, thus requiring a process of requests and approval by Soviet authorities in Berlin.

²⁵⁹ Franklin M. Davis, Jr., *Come as a Conqueror: the United States Army’s Occupation of Germany 1945-1949*, 71. Major General Davis served with both the U. S. occupation forces and the Military Government in Germany between V-E Day and 1947. As noted in Chapter III, the decision as to which U. S. Government agency would run the U. S. occupation government in Germany was not finally decided until the Second Quebec Conference in September 1944, when President Roosevelt stated that the U. S. Army would have the occupation government responsibility. Secretary of State James Byrnes announced as late as October 21, 1947, that “there was not present intention on the part of the Department of State to assume from the Army responsibility for the administration of the occupied areas.” (Davis. Byrnes remarks, 188 and 254). See also Lucius Clay, *Decision in Germany*, and Robert Murphy, *Diplomat Among Warriors*.

to convince his seniors, most notably, General Marshall and President Roosevelt, that armies should not run democratic governments, but to no avail. The U. S. Army “dug in for the long haul.”

The major task of the U. S. Army in the first year following V-E Day revolved around redeployment of over 2.5 million service personnel back to the United States and many on to the Pacific Theater. Equally preeminent, keeping service personnel, whether waiting for redeployment or assignment to occupational duties, engaged and entertained occupied force commanders and military government officials alike. Single, and in most cases relatively young soldiers quickly found diversions in a foreign but nonetheless tantalizing and challenging environment away from home. The U. S. Army went to great lengths to provide a home-away-from-home for the soldiers.

More than any other occupying power in history, the Army brought as much of the homeland to occupied Germany as it could; no occupation soldier was ever very far removed from the same installations and influences that surrounded him in the United States. His daily duty, his recreation, his radio listening, his newspaper, even his physical surroundings were all created for the soldier in as carefully contrived an American image as the Army could arrange. Thus the soldier might venture forth into the darkness of Germany, but he could always hustle back to the brightness offered in an almost total American environment. In short, he could cut in and out of the occupation atmosphere like a tourist, and the extent of his journeying was up to him.²⁶⁰

By V-E Day U. S. Army forces, numbering approximately 3,069,000 had scattered over much of Germany. One year after the war, the Third U. S. Army with three divisions (1st, 3d and 9th Infantry divisions) and nine infantry regiments along with seven separate infantry regiments, as well as three Constabulary brigades with ten regiments and a multitude of non-organic²⁶¹ logistics units remained in Germany. Both the 9th and 3d Infantry divisions as well as the seven

²⁶⁰ Franklin M. Davis, *Come as a Conqueror: The United States Army's Occupation of Germany 1945-1949*, 115.

²⁶¹ Non-organic units are assigned to organizations, usually temporarily to perform a specific mission. Non-organic units are not authorized on the supported organization's Table of Organization and Equipment.

separate infantry regiments, returned to the States or inactivated, with the last unit inactivated effective 14 January 1947. By January 1947, the troop strength in Germany dropped to 167,772 military personnel, very different from the original planned occupation strength between 300- and 400,000. However, numbers can be misleading. By January 1947, the U. S. Army total work force numbered approximately 507,000, comprised of 167,772 Army-uniformed personnel, 11,396 U. S. civilians, 17,136 Allied/Neutral Country citizens, and 310,219 enemy/ex-enemy citizens and Displaced Persons, the last group most likely paid out of occupation funds (see Appendix II.3 for strength figures between 1 May 1945 and 30 April 1948). The latter two groups – non U. S. employees totaling 327,355 -- engaged in support activities, suggesting that while the fighting force declined, logistics support had not. By 1947, many U. S. family members had joined the military communities, increasing support requirements.²⁶²

By November 1945, the USFET G4-Civil Branch Section assumed responsibility for supplying Class I (subsistence items), as well as Class II (clothing and individual equipment) and IV (construction materials) resources to U. S. civilian employees, American Red Cross staffs, Allied military personnel entitled to U. S. support, Allied and neutral employees, prisoners of war held by both the French and U. S. Forces, and UNRRA detachments in the U. S. Zone. As of 1 July 1946, a USFET Statistical Summary noted that the command wholly supported 571,991 personnel: 32,264 U. S. Military Forces, 201,240 prisoners of war and 28,487 in the other categories, combined. The command partially supported another 385,104 personnel: 1,019 U. S. Navy ashore (the ports), 1,487 American Red Cross, 848 Allied military personnel, 287,600 Enemy and ex-enemy civilian personnel and 94,150 other civilian personnel. Due

²⁶² The Historical Division European Command, "The Evolution of the Occupation Forces in Europe," provides the data in this paragraph. Data in the monograph is from Machine Records Branch, Adjutant General Division, Headquarters, EUCOM, Civilian Requirements Section, Requirements, Organization, Equipment and Movements Branch, Operations, Plans, Organization, and Training Division, Headquarters, EUCOM (Frankfurt-am-Main, GE: European Command, 1948), 312.

primarily to extreme cost-cutting measures and budget pressures from Washington, these numbers decreased drastically a year later, 1 July 1947. USFET wholly supported 153,263 personnel: 134,653 U. S. Military Forces, 2,500 prisoners of war and 16,110 in the remaining categories. USFET partially supported 360,875 personnel: 358 U. S. Navy ashore (the ports), 1,159 American Red Cross, 925 Allied military personnel, 272,800 Enemy and ex-enemy civilian personnel and 85,633 other civilian personnel.²⁶³ These numbers do not include support to Displaced Persons nor to U. S. servicemember dependents. While most of the U. S. war-fighting forces had left the European Theater, it appears that the logistic support mission in the European Theater had not decreased in proportion to the number of troops redeployed.

2.2.1 Transportation: How does the stuff get there?

Most supplies in support of the U. S. occupation forces left staging ports in the Zone of the Interior (United States) and travelled per ship to either the United Kingdom or a continental European port. On arrival at the port, dockworkers trans-loaded material to either rail cars or trucks, and the supplies were then transported via various lines of communication (LOCs) to their final destinations. Under normal conditions, this worked well. Under wartime conditions, especially where strategic air bombing took place, ports, rail track and roads rated high on strategic target lists, damaging if not destroying an enemy's capability to resupply itself, but also blunting Allied transportation possibilities until completion of repairs or work-arounds. One expected the abnormal in Germany after years of Allied strategic bombing.

A brief overview of the situation with regard to various types of transportation systems illustrates the problems confronted by the occupying authorities.

²⁶³ Office of the Chief Historian European Command, *Occupation Forces in Europe Series 1945-1946, Second Year 1946-1947* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1947), 199-200.

WATER TRANSPORT. Both trans-Atlantic shipping and inland German waterways played critical roles in resupplying the U. S. occupation force in Germany. Trans-Atlantic shipping relied on ports at both ends. As discussed above, on the European side of the Atlantic, Allied bombing and German mining of harbors took their toll and required in many cases massive repair. On the U. S. side of the Atlantic, shipping strikes and work stoppages threatened to tie up shipping, particularly in the fall of 1946.

The obstruction of inland waterways in Germany really presented the “long pole in the tent” relative to moving supplies from port to user in the U. S. occupation zone. Particularly critical, heavy coal moved best on barges in the rivers. Furthermore, barging the coal saved wear and tear on rail and road facilities. Land-locked in southern Germany, with little local coal production available, the U. S. military government called for as much coal as possible transferred from the Ruhr in the British occupation zone to the U. S. zone before winter restricted, if not closed down whatever inland waterways remained operational. The combination of destroyed bridges in the water, mining by retreating *Wehrmacht* soldiers, and port damage challenged U. S. Army engineers. However, despite these challenges, varying sources place the Rhine River as “completely open to water transportation all the way from Rotterdam to Karlsruhe”²⁶⁴ by mid-October 1945. One such repair mission reported by *The Stars and Stripes* on 14 May 1945, was a 2,315-foot long rail bridge spanning the Rhine River at Duisburg, completed in six days and 15 hours by the 15th Army Advanced Section Engineer Group A. The Danube River played a less critical role in inland water transportation -- it was not directly connected to the Rhine, as it is today by the *Rhine-Main-Donau-Kanal*. Trans-loading

²⁶⁴ Office of the Director, Office of Military Government (U. S. Zone) United States Forces European Theater, *Military Government Weekly Field Report*, no. 16, (27 October 1945): 20.

supplies from barge to rail or truck, while doable, was also labor-intensive. However, the Danube route served a purpose when resupplying U. S. Forces in Austria.

THE RAIL SYSTEM. Considering the damage caused to industrial areas, to include rail yards, OMGUS statistics indicated that as of 31 July 1945, operational rail trackage in the U. S. occupation zone stood at 78.6% overall, broken down by *Reichsbahndirektionen* (RBD) as follows:²⁶⁵

Region	Total Km of Track	Km of Track Operated	% Track in Operation
TOTAL	13,193	10,377	78.6
<i>Western Military District</i>	5,555	4,442	79.2
Kassel RBD	998	907	90.9
Frankfurt RBD	2,400	1,883	78.4
Stuttgart RBD	2,157	1,652	76.5
<i>Eastern Military District</i>	7,638	5,935	77.6
Nürnberg RBD	2,348	1,452	61.8
Regensburg RBD	2,097	1,598	76.1
Munich RBD	1,867	1,737	93.0
Augsburg RBD	1,326	1,148	86.5

Surprising as these numbers are considering the war damage, approximately 46% of the total locomotives, to include 143 U. S.-supplied locomotives, and 82% of the freight cars remained serviceable in the U. S. zone. However, the defining figure here is the 46% capability of the locomotives, as freight cars do not run without a locomotive pulling them. U. S. military government transportation authorities noted, “There appears to be ample rolling stock (cars and locomotives) in the zone to meet requirements for a rail system to maintain our Army of Occupation and a minimum civilian economy.”²⁶⁶ The prognosis for rail movement deteriorated by the end of August, as approximately 32% of total locomotives and 72% of total freight cars

²⁶⁵ OMGUS *Monthly Report*, no. 1, “Transportation,” (August 1945): 3. *The Military Government Weekly Field Report* from the Office of Director, Office of Military Government (U. S. Zone), United States Forces European Theater, no. 15, (20 October 1945): 19, gives the figures from a 1 October 1945 inventory – 46% of locomotives serviceable and 71% of freight cars (all types) serviceable.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

remained serviceable. The decline in operational status most likely occurred due to over-usage, shortage of repair parts and technical personnel to make necessary repairs. Also, unfortunately, while operational numbers for freight cars increased by October (from 49,000 to 108,921), approximately 47% of these operational freight cars belonged to liberated countries that soon after capitulation called for return of their freight cars, and also insisted on holding onto whatever *Reichbahn* equipment remained in their countries as part of the reparations agreements.

As important as operational equipment was, reestablishment of an operational rail organization was critical. U. S. Army authorities and the rail experts on Army staffs recognized this even before war's end. Although activating a U. S. Military Railway Service (MRS) to serve the needs of U. S. tactical forces, Army officials realized that the MRS could not run the German rail system, no matter how many U.S. locomotives and cars the Army shipped over to Germany. First, many of the American rail experts were only temporarily available, needing to return to their high-level civilian posts in the U. S. railway system. Second, a German rail organization, albeit under U. S. Army supervision, required immediate reconstitution, and in the U. S. occupation zone, this transpired as early as July 1945. This *Oberbetriebsleitung*, reestablished in Frankfurt, had executive, administrative and operational authority over the German railways in the U. S. Zone. Unfortunately, one of the Potsdam Protocol precepts – that a central German transportation agency be reestablished – never came to fruition because the French balked at reestablishment of any centralized German agencies. Because of occupation zonal boundaries, reconfiguration of the earlier divisional offices (*Reichsbahndirektionen*, RBDs) resulted in seven RBDs: Kassel, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Regensburg and Munich – each RBD on the key lines of communication routes servicing large U. S. military installations.

Even more important and a “deadlining system” factor, dysfunctional communications facilities precluded railway traffic from moving. Trains coming at each other on a single track had nowhere to go, no options, other than to stop, if the engineer saw the danger in time. Complementary to repairing rails and stations, engineers also had to repair rail communications systems.

THE ROAD SYSTEM. As with the German railway system, U. S. military government established through the local German officials the reopening of necessary German civilian governmental agencies to oversee the vagaries of road transportation. Although U. S. military government official inventories of German road transport equipment indicated more motor freight transportation available in September 1945, compared to 1932, officials still estimated a shortage of 6,654 operational trucks required for essential transport in the U. S. occupation zone.²⁶⁷ Along with shortage of trucks, military government officials also noted the ongoing shortages of road maintenance materials – tar, asphalt, rock, lumber, cement and automotive parts, particularly tire chains, tires and tubes, batteries and anti-freeze. However, even with cannibalization of unsalvageable equipment to increase the numbers of operational vehicles, the U. S. military government survey calculated shortages over the next six months in fuel: approximately 28,801 metric tons (approximately 34,700,000 liters) of gasoline, 66,164 metric tons (approximately 74,389,000 liters) of diesel fuel and 10,702 metric tons of kerosene and tractor fuels.²⁶⁸ Ongoing studies focused on replacing these liquid fuels with solid fuel (wood) with the aim to preclude the need to import large quantities of POL.

U. S. occupation forces had the ground transportation assets and fuel to move – people, supplies, even rubble in the cities and towns. This ability manifested in numerous ways, aided

²⁶⁷ OMGUS *Monthly Report*, “Transportation,” no. 2, (September 1945): 5.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

not only military government authorities, but also local communities. Characteristic of such support, a USFET August Weekly Information noted that even with the 8,000 prisoners of war averaging 2,000 cubic meters per day of debris and destruction from bombing raids, clearing 4,900,000 cubic meters of debris from the streets and sidewalks was far from finished. The U. S. Army committed 140 Army trucks, nine Army cranes and additionally, as available and operational, trucks from private German concerns. At that rate, with no increases in personnel or technical assistance, it would have taken close to seven years to complete the task.²⁶⁹ Additionally, most communities formed clean-up committees to sort through the rubble, categorizing and separating out useable material for future construction. Add more time to the project. This vignette was repeated often in Germany after the war, and particularly concerning transportation routes. Whether German civilians volunteered or were drafted, routes needed clearing, if only for the transport of food and fuel.

Rail, road and inland waterway transportation modes received heavy damage primarily from bombing raids. Rail and road routes crisscrossed Germany for close to a century. The inland water canal routes, primarily the north-south Rhine route and the east-west Donau route to the East and Austria, preceded rail and proved quicker and cheaper than road transport prior to the mid- nineteenth century. Extensive damage to any of these routes, to include bridges, played havoc with armed forces on the move. In peacetime, Germany's economy depended and depends today on moving produce and products to port and market. Because of the extensive bombing air raids over Germany during the war, U. S. Army engineers received a lot of experience in transportation repair, to include rail and rail equipment repair. Many an American

²⁶⁹ *U. S. Forces European Theater Weekly Information Bulletin*, no. 5, "Munich Rubble." (Frankfurt-am-Main: Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff G-5, Reports and Information Branch, August 1945): 28.

railroad veteran found himself in uniform, assigned to an engineer unit in Germany during and following the war.

2.2.2 Billeting and construction: tent-city or a roof over one's head?

Allied forces had agreed to establish their military forces in assigned occupation zones on or before 1 July 1945. Rationalizing movements into the U. S. assigned zone – essentially Hesse, Württemberg-Baden and Bavaria – proved difficult as little German infrastructure remained intact and functioning, hardly able to support large concentrations of U. S. Army forces. Naturally, commanders wished to get their forces out of tent-cities. Imagine finding housing facilities for three million U. S. troops, particularly if the traditional barracks facilities cannot accommodate these numbers. Additionally the U. S Army, in accordance with JCS 1067, Part I, paragraph 4d acquired the responsibility to “ensure that prisoners of war and displaced persons of the United Nations are cared for and repatriated.”²⁷⁰ Add to the number of U. S. Forces an estimated three million Displaced Persons (see Part B, Section 3.)

The U. S. occupation zone contained many Wehrmacht kasernes that would have been logical choices for billeting troops. However, many of these kasernes already housed large numbers of Displaced Persons. Many others had suffered extensive damage caused by the strategic bombing campaign. Only toward the end of the military occupation would U. S. Army in Europe have access to many of the kasernes in their zone. Consequently, units remained scattered throughout the zone for at least a good two years before reorganization and consolidation of units was even possible. Even as consolidation began, soldier billets remained scarce, and funds for construction just as scarce. Housing for soldiers, and indeed for family members, remained problematic throughout the military occupation. Appendices III.3 and

²⁷⁰Cassidy, “1945 Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U. S. Forces of Occupation (JCS 1067),” *Germany 1947-1949, The Story in Document*, 23.

III.3.2.2 convey a notion of the scattered 1st Infantry Division (1st ID) locations in the summer, 1945, as the units moved into assigned occupation zones. One perhaps sees better the dimensions of the housing problem, although the 1st ID finished the war pretty much within the U. S. assigned occupation zone.²⁷¹ Many of these locations were small crowded towns with few buildings large enough to house even platoon-sized elements, but even the larger towns and cities often filled rapidly with refugees.



Troops and units often dispersed throughout the zone initially after the war. However, the shortage of mass housing facilities blended well with the early attitude that the Germans required constant over-watch, therefore scattering tactical troops over the countryside provided the security and supervision felt necessary at the time.²⁷² Stephen Fritz provided a classic propaganda piece designed to get the attention of American service members:²⁷³ “Every friendly German civilian is a disguised soldier of hate. Armed with the inner conviction that the Germans are still superior . . . that one

²⁷¹ The 1st Infantry Division data is used as it is the only division in Germany from pre-V-E Day until it returned to the U. S. in 1954-1955. The Division, ironically, served with the occupation forces in Germany after World War I. One can say that unit moves were necessarily chaotic, particularly in the first year after the war. As former Wehrmacht kasernes emptied out their displaced person /refugee/POW residents, and were rehabilitated as needed, U. S. forces moved in in keeping with the division’s organizational/tactical plans. Data for the organizations and locations comes from several sources. This researcher pulled dates, unit designation and locations together; the material represents as close as possible locations, trying to rationalize on occasion conflicting data. The dates are not arbitrary; units down to platoon level moved around as deemed necessary to provide security and/or logistical/military government support. In addition, the above lists represent major subordinate commands of the 1st Infantry Division during this particular period, 1945-1951. Sources: *The American Traveler*, “1st Infantry Division 33rd Anniversary, 1917-1950,” (Munich: Publishing Operations Branch ISD, OP, HICOG, 1950). Stationing Lists from the Adjutant General’s Office, 1951-1962

²⁷² *Booby Trap* poster located at: http://i.dailymail.co.uk/i/pix/2013/06/10/article-2339094-1A3EC69D000005DC-863_634x830.jpg

²⁷³ Stephen G. Fritz, *Endkampf: Soldiers, Civilians, and the Death of the Third Reich* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 218-219.

day it will be their destiny to destroy you. Their hatred and their anger . . . are deeply buried in



THE WEREWOLVES

"Of course it's rather hard to do the goose-step like this."

their blood. A smile is their weapon by which to disarm you . . . In heart, body and spirit every German is Hitler."

Initially, U. S. Army forces were wary of the security situation and the reaction of the German population. After all, the troops had been plied with extremely explicit propaganda on just how dangerous the Germans could be, not discounting the rumors of small gangs of *Werwölve*²⁷⁴ supposedly roaming the country,

underground movements of Nazi sympathizers, youth with time on their hands, or simply German hatred toward the victors. The security surprise for U. S. forces turned out to be raiding bands of Displaced Persons, seeking revenge against the Germans or scrounging for food and any item worthy of exchange at the black markets. So much so, that shortly after the end of the war, the U. S. Army reconstituted the German police (unarmed) to assist with law and order

²⁷⁴ For a scholarly account of the *Werwolf* movement, see Perry Biddiscombe, *Werwolf! The History of the National Socialist Guerrilla Movement, 1944-1946*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998). The cartoon is from *Punch*, 11 April 1945, by Sir John Bernard Partridge. I have a license on file to use the PUNCH cartoon, "The Werewolves," for the purpose of this dissertation ONLY, effective 29 Aug 2014. For any other use, permission must be granted from PUNCH. Contact: info@punch.co.uk.

issues. Up until December 1945, in addition to DP issues, curfew violations and miscellaneous military government violations, particularly illegal immigration and migrant movements across occupation zones caused the biggest problems U. S. military police faced. To assist with unauthorized movement problems, the U. S. Army reestablished German border police, effective 15 February 1946,²⁷⁵ to assist with border and zone movements issues.

Furthermore, billeting for U. S. military forces immediately after V-E Day stood in flux as units moved into assigned occupation zones in July 1945. Tents and requisitioning of German facilities set the billeting pattern for U. S. forces as units advanced into Germany after September 1944. As U. S. military government units and military headquarters established themselves in the assigned occupation zone after July 1945, generally the equivalent G1 -Adjutant General and Command Engineer staffs coordinated with U. S. military liaison staffs and local German *Bürgermeister* to requisition facilities required to support the forces.

To receive compensation for property requisitioned by the U. S. Army, the property owner presented the U. S. Army requisitioning documentation to his local *Bürgermeister*, who then procured funds from the *Reichsbank*. In short, the German communities paid German property owners for property requisitioned by the U. S. Army, presumably as a category of occupation costs. Unfortunately, and acknowledged by U. S. military government officials, requisitioning procedures and financial accounting, at least on the American side, lacked accurate documentation. Designating eligibility for requisitioned quarters, size of quarters, as well as requisitioned furnishings, varied from location to location. The process of acquiring quarters varied as well. The lack of standardization only aggravated relations between Germans and the U. S. Army. Not surprisingly, however, many Germans accepted requisitioning with a shoulder shrug and, “After all, we lost the war. Who wants to argue with the U. S. Army?”

²⁷⁵ *OMGUS Monthly Report*, no. 6, December 1945, (published 20 January 1946).

USFET published Standing Operating Procedure 37, Procedure for Acquisition of Real Estate in Occupied, Liberated and Allied Countries, dated 15 August 1946 – over one year after occupation began but problems continued. USFET's successor, Headquarters, European Command published a memorandum to all subordinate commands, dated 9 April 1947, Requisitioning of Real Estate, informing units: "Effective 1 May 1947, no request for the requisitioning of real estate will be placed on the local military government representative by a post commander without prior approval of this headquarters."²⁷⁶ The memorandum cites the pending European Command reorganization plan as the reason for undertaking readjustments in requisitioned property holdings, and notes, "It is considered that very little additional requisitioning should be required after 1 May 1947." Further, a 26 August 1947 memorandum from Headquarters, European Command orders subordinate commands to:

Take vigorous action to close out and where this is not possible, to consolidate all facilities and installations occupied by, controlled by, or under the supervision of U. S Forces in the occupied zone of Germany, liberation countries and United Kingdom. Every effort will be made to reduce these holdings to an absolute minimum as rapidly as possible.²⁷⁷

Headquarters, European Command released the official rewritten Standing Operating Procedure (SOP) No. 37, reflecting tighter controls over requisitioning, effective 6 October 1947.

The October 1947 SOP-required requisitioned property report from the Office of Military Government, Land and Stadtkreis Heidelberg, dated 6 December 1947, indicated U. S. Army requisitioning of German properties as of December 1947. The second chart depicts requisitioned facilities for Württemberg as of 1 October 1947:²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ Baden-Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv, OMGUS Files, Fiche 12-222-1/5.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., Det. G-43, 1st Military Government Bn (Sep) Report, OMGUS Fiche 12-142-1/2.

Dwelling Status	Number/Dwelling Units	Number of Rooms
Occupied, repair necessary	952	3,395
Occupied, repair unnecessary	26,864	76,293
<i>Sub-total</i>	27,816	79,668
Occupied, U.S. military forces	2,051	10,529
Occupied, Displaced Persons	600	3,563
Type of Facility	Units/Types	
Private homes and apartments	2,248 units w/22,225 rooms	
Hotels, guesthouses, restaurants	64 units w/1640 rooms	
Office type buildings	64 units w/1034 rooms	
Factories (industrial type buildings)	15 units	
Service stations, motor pools	84 units	
Warehouses	43 units	
Airfields, parking lots, storage depots	12 airfields; 10 parking lots; 6 storage depots	
Hospitals, clinics	7 units	
Recreational properties (tennis courts, athletic fields, gymnasiums)	19 units	
<i>Kasernes</i> and barrack-type installations	34 units	
Theaters	8 units	

Additionally, the report notes the following facilities requisitioned to establish a housing and Support Center for dependents in Bad Mergentheim:²⁷⁹

Type of Facility	Units/Types
Private homes	6 units w/72 rooms
Hotels, guesthouses, restaurants	19 units w/864 rooms
Office type buildings	3 units
Factories (industrial type buildings)	1 unit
Service stations, garage-type facilities	1 unit
Warehouses	4 units
Parking lot	1
Hospitals	1 unit
Theaters	2 units

An analysis of these reports from the U. S. Army real estate officers for Heidelberg and Württemberg indicates that U. S. military forces in the U. S. occupation zone in Germany, almost two-and-a-half years after V-E Day, still relied on requisitioning to provide the necessary housing and facilities for troops and families, even as U. S. forces strength numbers decreased.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

It is necessary to note that German citizens paid through taxes the rents on these requisitioned facilities as part of occupation costs.

Much as the U. S. Army recognized the need to vacate requisitioned German private property, it also had to deal with cash flow shortages that precluded building new facilities. Actually, requisitioning privately owned German buildings and facilities cost the U. S. Government next to nothing as these expenses counted against occupation costs. Confiscated former Nazi facilities, e.g., kasernes, if not already occupied by Displaced Persons, also came to the U. S. Army without cost. Of course, some minimal renovation work ensued, usually through German labor and perhaps small caches of building supplies, but in the first years after the war, both resources were short on supply and long on demand. Complicating matters, the open-ended budgets of wartime were no more. U. S. Congressional committees progressively tightened the purse strings after V-E Day, reducing considerably finances available for military spending, and especially construction, overseas. Major General Thomas Handy, Chief, Operations Plans Division, War Department, notified Major General Harold Bull, Deputy Chief of Staff, USFET, in the fall, 1945, that funding was tight – “a bill currently pending before the Senate [would] cut Army funds for the fiscal year 1946 by \$30.9 billion.”²⁸⁰ In fact, the defense spending allocation declined continuously from \$93.7 billion in Fiscal Year (FY) 1945, to \$53.3 billion in FY 46 and further to \$22.8 billion in 1947.²⁸¹ House of Representatives Document No. 657, with a cover letter from President Truman, requested reductions in the War Department budget that effectively, if approved, cut the budget by almost \$38 billion.²⁸² Funded projects entailed a

²⁸⁰ Letter, Major General Thomas Handy, Chief, OPD, War Department, to Major General Bull, Deputy Chief of Staff, USFET, 8 November 1945. Quoted in Office of the Chief Historian European Command, Occupation Forces in Europe Series, *Domestic Economy*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1947), 9.

²⁸¹ See http://www.usgovernmentspending.com/year1946_0.htm

²⁸² Serial Set Vol. No. 11056, Session Vol. No. 17, 79th Congress, 2d session, House of Representatives. Document No. 657.

myriad of justifications, especially construction of adequate housing and facilities for family members, particularly since the occupation was still seen as a temporary affair. The back-and-forth memorandums with the War Department (and later Department of Defense) over expenditures continued through at least 1948.

As noted in The Communications Zone Command Allocation Plan of April 1945 for construction projects, and little-changed for most of the military occupation period, the basis of allocation for funds and materiel assumed:

Only the minimum requirements for essential operations will be met . . . convenience, appearance, durability, comfort and other desirable features will not be considered in determining minimum requirements; existing buildings and facilities will be used to the greatest extent with minimum (if any) alterations; considerations must be given to economy of transport; POWs, civilians and occupying troops, when available must be used to maximize the work effort; Engineer service troops should supervise the work effort and engage in the actual work only where their technical expertise is required; finally, construction supply needs and materiel within occupied Germany [is to] be met from German industry and sources after V-E Day.²⁸³

Funding was tight, as were German resources, nonetheless, U. S. Army engineers, supported initially by U. S. troops and later by both POWs and DPs, embarked on numerous construction programs. The U. S. Army Communications Zone Command established an allocation plan for construction materiel and embarked initially on construction of redeployment camps for the projected 3,000,000 U. S. forces to be redeployed either to the Pacific Theater or back to the United States, and for rehabilitation of the Bremerhaven-Bremen ports. Even with the three million service member draw down, a May 1945 inventory of ongoing construction projects, under the aegis of the U. S. Army Communications Zone, hinted that a post-war infrastructure

²⁸³ This paragraph is a summary of the circular Headquarters Communications Zone Command published 15 April 1945, to provide for a plan to establish a construction policy and allocate resources. Office of the Chief Historian, European Command, *The Physical Plant: Its Procurement, Construction, and Maintenance*, 24-27.

build-up under austere resource conditions to support U. S. occupation forces in Germany had begun.

Construction Projects in Process by May 1945²⁸⁴

Projects	New Starts	Ongoing Completed	Cancelled
Depots	15	61	19
Hospitals	13	36	31
POL Depots	37	27	2
Ports	1	6	10
Railroads	83	107	19
Roads	10	19	10
Troop Housing	60	90	48
Utilities	8	22	22
Special Projects*	64	144	66
Waterways	2	1	2
Totals	293	523 [513]	229

* Special projects included primarily laundries, refrigeration, installations, chemical impregnating plants.

Drawing conclusions from this chart presents obvious difficulties. First, construction on many of the projects began prior to the U. S. Government's announcement that redeployment of approximately three million service members from the Continent over the next twelve months would begin on 12 May 1945. Cancelled projects most likely resulted from redeployment decisions. Second, the chart does not reflect locations of the projects – France, Germany, Belgium or Britain, although construction of the first five redeployment camps took place at Reims, Marseilles, Le Havre, Antwerp -- all near ports on the Continent, and Southampton in England. Third, quite possibly a large number of the transportation-related projects resulted from combat-related missions to ease crossing of Germany prior to V-E Day, e.g., repair of ports (in Belgium and France), railroad bridges, and roads. However, a large number of project completions would support occupation forces after V-E Day. Further, although under

²⁸⁴ U. S. Army, Headquarters, European Command, *The Physical Plant – its Procurement, Construction and Maintenance*, 27.

considerable constraints as to both local resources and U. S. War Department funding until at least 1948, construction in support of U.S. troops and eventually their dependents continued creatively in various forms.

Nonetheless, leaders in the military government and tactical force structure recognized the necessity to turn back facilities to the Germans as quickly as possible to improve not only German living conditions, but also the German economy. Several reasons stand out. Firstly, U. S. forces underwent reorganization during this period, part of which focused on consolidating aggregations of troops into near-regimental-size locations. Former *Wehrmacht* kasernes, if available and functional or easily repaired, offered the best facilities for this. Secondly, the commanders preferred to have family members living within the same community as their service members. This, of course, reduced the scattering of support facilities. Thirdly, consolidation of military units eased training requirements, aided unit cohesion and provided closer supervision of troop activities. Between October 1947 and December 1949, the U. S. Army acquired more barracks space, growing from 34 units in 1947 to 156 units by December 1949.²⁸⁵ The transition from non-permanent requisitioned property to former *Wehrmacht* kasernes began the long trek from “occupation status” to “stationed status.”

Having a roof over one’s head provides a certain amount of comfort. Having functional public utilities certainly beats looking for bushes or digging holes and reading by candlelight. One of the (often overlooked by statisticians) tasks confronting the U. S. Army Engineers, in addition to the destroyed or damaged housing and transportation network, was repair of public utilities, which dogged the U. S. Army for months. Although most of the utilities damage resulted from air raids to cities and industrial areas these areas housed the largest population

²⁸⁵ Historical Division, European Command, *Occupation Forces in Europe Series, 1949, Annual Narrative Report, 1 January-31 December 1949*, (Karlsruhe, GE, 1950), Chapter XI.

bases where epidemics could break out, a situation occupation forces wished to avoid.

Furthermore, most U. S Army units “set up camp” in and around these areas, and desired the use of these facilities themselves. A *Weekly Field Report* from G-5, Military Government, USFET disclosed the following:

In Berlin, work is continuing on the Berlinerstrasse Bridge over Telten Canal in Templehof²⁸⁶ to carry sewage mains transporting sewage to the city for treatment and disposal in the installation there. Similar accommodations will be made available when the Emil Schwerz Bridge in the Lichterfelde area is repaired. Repair work is now complete on larger and critical sewage mains in Frankfurt. The number repaired, 22 (15 percent of the approximately 150 damaged sewers) are now open and flowing. More sewers have been repaired in Bremen, and work is continuing on 37 breaks; 586 known breaks are still to be repaired.²⁸⁷

Establishing a safe water supply system also created major tasks for the U. S. Army. This problem was twofold: first, sanitizing the water itself by providing chlorine and ammonia; second, repairing damaged wells and replacing worn-out wells. Likewise, in many areas, the electrical system required massive repairs – much of the initial work done by U. S. Army engineers, with assistance from available technically qualified Germans.²⁸⁸

Related to housing and public utility issues, the coal shortage, particularly critical in the U. S. zone, forced the military authorities to authorize mass tree-cutting projects to provide lumber and wood products for both military and civilian heating, cooking and construction to winterize living quarters for the 1945-1946 winter period. German authorities established necessary rationing programs while the U. S. military district commanders authorized the use of U. S Army equipment and supplies not required for essential military operations and the ongoing harvesting and food processing support to aid German communities in cutting and transporting

²⁸⁶ This is most likely a spelling error but refers to *Teltowkanal*. The *Berlinerstrasse* Bridge is since 1949 known as the *Teltowkanal*.

²⁸⁷ Office of the Director, Office of Military Government (U. S Zone), United States Forces European Theater, no. 15, (20 October 1945): 18.

²⁸⁸ Technically qualified Germans were in short supply in the first months after the war; many had been inducted into the *Wehrmacht* and were at war's end, POWs, victims of the war, or party members, dismissed or interned.

lumber to collection points. Military rail and water transportation provided the first choice of transportation possibilities to supplement civilian capabilities. In addition to German civilians available for work, both voluntary Displaced Persons and prisoners of war (provided cut wood for U. S. military use) joined the workforce in this effort.

2.2.2 Supply: What? More than 3 million soldiers for dinner?

From the beginning of the occupation, the U. S. Army did not “live off the land.” Initially, all food products destined for U. S occupation forces arrived in ship-holds from the continental United States. Within a year or so, some fresh products were available on the Continent, for example, butter and milk from Denmark. By February 1946, U. S. troops could purchase indigenous fruits and vegetables, as available, in their assigned regions. The following chart depicts the recommended daily food intake for the American soldier at the end of World War II. On average, this diet would provide approximately 3,500+ calories per day (probably reduced about 500 calories post-war).

Feeding the G. I. in World War II²⁸⁹

Food Groups	Ounces	Food Groups	Ounces
Meat, boneless	12.15	Other vegetables	4.00
Eggs, dehydrated	0.60	Potatoes	11.00
Milk products, evaporated milk	8.50	Tomatoes and citrus fruits	5.00
Butter	1.16	Dried fruits	0.70
Other fats	0.75	Other fruits	5.00
Grain products	11.50	Beverages	1.68
Dried legumes	1.41	Miscellaneous	2.30
Sugars	5.30	Total, net ounces	77.43
Vegetables, leafy, green, yellow	6.50	Total, net pounds	4.65

At an average of 4.65 pounds per day of fresh food or 5.25 pounds of the traditional Field C-ration,²⁹⁰ Army logisticians had to provide approximately 13,950,000 pounds of food per day to

²⁸⁹ Randolph Leigh, *American Enterprise in Europe: the Role of the SOS in the Defeat of Germany*, 111.

feed the Victory in Europe U. S. military force members in Europe. A U. S. Army transporter, calculating the transport by truck of a shipment of fresh food arriving at the Antwerp port, heading to Frankfurt in the summer of 1945, figuring twenty tons of food per 10-ton reefer with trailer, would require at least 300 such truck-trailers for the haul. The distance would approximate 250-275 miles, the trucks travelling between 30-50 mph, the trip probably requiring an overnight in Köln (British occupation zone). Upon arrival in Frankfurt, logisticians transferred the load to a refrigerated storage area. One might draw a parallel between this type of “peace-time” movement and the Army’s famous Red Ball Express.

Even at the reduced force structure of approximately 92,000 in 1948, excluding requirements of the Berlin Airlift, logisticians would have provided approximately 427,800 pounds of fresh food alone for the service members. By this time, family members had arrived, increasing the requirement. Add to the numbers foodstuffs provided to UNRRA/IRO for Displaced Persons, refugees and the indigenous German population – an added mission for U. S. Army logisticians.

Whereas the Americans shipped in their food supplies, the Germans relied on their own agriculture supplemented by American relief shipments and imports as allowed. At this time in late summer 1945, imports to Germany did not exist. An August 1945 report in the USFET *Weekly Bulletin* addressed this conundrum, noting, “the Germans will eat this winter. [But] under present conditions, with normal food movements between regions virtually stopped, and with reliance on indigenous resources plus the necessity of feeding displaced persons, refugees, and disarmed German soldiers, the answer is no.”²⁹¹ A comparison of the late summer 1945 caloric

²⁹⁰ Randolph Leigh, 111-112.

²⁹¹ *U. S. Forces European Theater Weekly Information Bulletin*, no. 5, “What the Germans Will Eat This Winter” (Frankfurt-am-Main: Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff G-5, Reports and Information Branch. (August 1945):

ration of a German in the U. S. occupation zone, between 1200 and 1500 calories, to the theoretical 2,000-calorie minimum ration needed to supply adequate quantities of essential food nutrients, indicated the following percentages of an adequate diet: 53% bread/grain products, 62% potatoes, 61% meat, 27% sugar, and 71% fats. This report brought up again the importance of establishing an economically unified Germany for production and distribution as well as a rational level of industry plan to support export and import requirements, the absence of which meant sizeable deficits for several regions.²⁹² The U. S. taxpayer often paid the bill to reduce the food deficits in the three western occupation zones.

As early as June 1945, the Food, Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry Division, SHAEF noted that preliminary reports for the 1945 German harvest, while not grim, certainly would most likely not provide the recommended calories levels – 1550 - for the “normal consumer” recommended by SHAEF in January 1945. Bread grains, about equal to 1944 results but below the six-year average ending in 1944, as well as potato, sugar beet, oil seed, and livestock would not exceed the low 1944 production figures. Estimated lower production figures, increased population figures, lack of available manpower, processing facilities, adequate transportation and distribution controls aggravated the situation.

Colonel Andrews, assigned to the Food, Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry Division of SHAEF at Höchst, near Frankfurt, and later the OMGUS group in Berlin, noted early after his arrival in Frankfurt (August 1945) that he had surveyed the grain, potato, sugar and oil seed crops not yet harvested. The crops needed harvesting but that work fell to the women, children and the aged left in the rural villages – in insufficient numbers to bring in the harvest.

4-7. Also, available at the Stadtarchiv, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, see *Ernährungsamt Bericht für Stuttgart, 1945-1949*, 21/1, Bestand 9, Anlagen 1946-1950.

²⁹² Ibid., 5.

The whole economy of the American zone in West Germany not destroyed by the bombing and the fighting had come to a virtual standstill. Nothing moved or was undertaken by Germans themselves except by permission of the military. The military controlled fuel, transportation, food supplies, money – the works. This, plus people struggling back to some sort of existence in their destroyed and bombed-out homes, made the outlook pretty bleak.²⁹³

In an interesting aside, Colonel Andrews sought a meeting with General Eisenhower's Chief of Staff, General Bedell-Smith, to request logistics support – transportation, labor (released prisoners of war), and machinery, to reap the harvest. General Smith's response, "Don't get too worked up and concerned about these Germans; the policy is to make it hard on these SOB's to get going again."²⁹⁴

General Smith's comment notwithstanding, the Allied occupation governments assumed the role of the acting-German government. In this role, each assumed the responsibility of providing for the population. Moreover, at least in the first months after the war, the U. S. occupation forces considered the very real possibility of a hungry people too weak to work and too angry to remain passive. Consequently, U. S. forces administration agencies monitored calories, enforced ration control down to local German community levels for rationed food items as necessary and imported foodstuffs above the military force requirements – particularly grain - to forestall medical crises and dissension within the local populations. As one author noted,

We can say they should have thought of that [food shortages] before they started the war and let them starve or survive as best they may. That might be all right if we were not trying to maintain law and order in the country and convince the people that democracy is the best way to live. It is difficult to govern, much less persuade to your views, a hungry people.²⁹⁵

²⁹³ Andrews, *The Journal of a Retread*, 406.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 407. Further, Colonel Andrews attributes this attitude/policy to the "quite famous Joint Chiefs of Staff memorandum, JCS 1067. It said, in effect, that in the postwar period Germany and former enemies of the United States and European Allies would stand at the end of the line as far as food supplies were concerned. At a time of worldwide food shortage that meant that, 'If anyone starved, the former enemies would starve first.' That is not quite what JCS 1067 stated, but the directive had not officially been released at the time of this conversation.

²⁹⁵ *U. S. Forces European Theater Weekly Information Bulletin*, no. 5, "What the Germans Will Eat This Winter," 7.

The U. S. Army arranged through the U. S. Government to have approximately a quarter of the estimated 1945-46 year's grain production deficit imported.²⁹⁶ According to the OMGUS Food and Agriculture specialists, reduced food rations from 1550 calories per normal consumer to 1,275 calories on 1 April 1946 exceeded availability of foodstuffs in the U S. occupation zone, forcing a further reduction to 1,180 calories per normal consumer on 27 May 1946. Projected food sources would not increase until the next harvest several months down the road. To counter the calorie deficit, U. S. Army imported from the United States an initial 45,000 tons of food and released 15,700 tons of excess Army food items that included varieties of dry bean product, dried and evaporated milk, wheat and other grain products. The U. S. Army also arranged for shipment of an additional 36,000 tons of wheat and flour, 29,000 tons of whole corn, and 35,000 tons of canned vegetables – all to arrive in June. At the same time, the Army ordered a second quarter (October-December) 1946 allotment of 150,000 tons of bread grains.²⁹⁷

Eventually, by the end of the first year of occupation, food relief packages, prohibited until December 1945, began to arrive in Germany. The Council of Relief Agencies Licensed to Operate in Germany (CRALOG), authorized by President Truman in February 1946 to act as the umbrella agency for relief efforts to occupied countries, shipped its first packages into Bremen in April 1946. CARE, the Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe, formed in November 1945 and operating under CRALOG, shipped its first 20,000 packages that arrived at the Le Havre port in May 1946. Germany received its first packages, 35,700, in July 1946, shipped to Bremen on a U. S. Maritime Commission ship, the American Ranger. The initial packages were surplus U. S. Army 10-in-1 rations, designed to provide a soldier ten meals. The family in the

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Summary of data from OMGUS Monthly Reports through June 1946.

picture below is opening a typical CRALOG/CARE relief package²⁹⁸ that contained about twenty pounds of meat, cheese canned fruit and vegetables, sugar, coffee, condensed milk, cornflakes, chewing gum and often a packet of cigarettes. Accountability of actual numbers shipped and received is difficult to establish.



Photo:CARE

According to OMGUS monthly reports, as of September 1946, CARE had shipped 160,445 packages, purchased by Americans initially, at \$10 per package. The above picture displaying a typical CARE package received in Germany was taken in 1947.²⁹⁹ The following picture shows a German girl sitting on a part of a CARE package, provided by the American company, Swift & Co.³⁰⁰ As one recipient recalled, his mother was too shocked to say anything more than, “*Danke.*” Although these packages did supplement diets for those who received

²⁹⁸ “CARE packages prevented starvation in post-war Germany,” Deutsche Welle-Deutschland, accessed June 2014, <http://www.dw.de/care-packages-prevented-starvation-in-post-war-germany/a-15313828>

²⁹⁹ Permission from CARE Deutschland-Luxemburg, Michael Buttler, 24 October 2014; permission on file with author.

³⁰⁰ CARE-Paket, accessed 23 October 2014, <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/CARE-Paket>

them, in relation to the total population of over 17,000,000 in the U. S. occupation zone alone, only a small portion of the population experienced CARE, and then, rarely more than once.³⁰¹

U. S. government food shipments continued to supplement local production, not only in the U. S. occupation zone, but also in the British and French zones well into the military occupation period. The exact amount of American export of foodstuffs to Germany between



V-E Day and June 1948, difficult to track, amounted to at least 6,000,000 metric tons, some of which also supported both the French and British occupation zones.³⁰² This figure does not include U. S. Army surplus foods, for example, the initial 630,000 tons of wheat turned over to the German agencies in the three western occupation zones in the autumn of 1945.³⁰³ What the total cost in dollars to the U. S. taxpayer was, is probably just as obscure. However, in addition to indirectly funding through taxes these shipments, American citizens were also implored by President Truman to “Save Wheat, Save Meat, Save the Peace.” Established by the President in 1947, the Citizens Food Committee embarked on a campaign to convince Americans to reduce

³⁰¹ Reported in *The Stars & Stripes*, June 8, 1946, “CARE Adds Germany to Food Package Plan,” 5. A brief fact sheet provides the essentials, at: www.dw.de/care-packages-prevented-starvation-in-post-war-germany/a-15313828. For an in depth reading on the CRALOG, the umbrella organization for relief supplies, see Eileen Egan and Elizabeth Clark Reiss, *Transfigured Night: the CRALOG Experience*, (Philadelphia: Livingston Publishing Company), 1964. For a study on the connection between humanitarian aid and German-American relations in the first ten post-war years, see: Karl-Ludwig Sommer, *Humanitäre Auslandshilfe als Brücke zu atlantischer Partnerschaft: CARE, CRALOG, und die Entwicklung der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehung* (Bremen: Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen), 1999.

³⁰² A best-guess summary from OMGUS monthly reports during the period.

³⁰³ Ziemke, *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946*, 296.

items from both their and from farm animal diets to provide food items for shipment to (primarily) Europe.

Furthermore, even though the Potsdam Protocol and the Allied Control Council tasked the Germans to provide for the feeding and welfare of the Displaced Persons, because the Germans could not even feed themselves early after the end of the war that responsibility fell on each of the occupation forces, and increasingly on the United States. Responsibility to move the millions of metric tons, from both U. S. government sources and private relief agencies, noted in the above paragraphs fell initially to the U. S. Army until German transportation assets could support these missions.

2.2.4 Communications: Radios, Phones, Newspapers, Magazines.

Armed Forces Network (radio) serving the U. S. occupation zone remained unchanged, with Luxembourg still the center of the network, until units moved first to Frankfurt, then to Munich in mid-1945. The U. S. Army relayed programs from the continental U. S. However, after V-E Day, U. S. Military Government Information Control Division gave greater emphasis to development of programs locally originated and perceived to be more relevant to service members stationed in Germany. *The Stars and Stripes*, European edition began printing the AFN daily program from the Frankfurt area on Friday, 13 July 1945. By the end of August 1945, AFN transmitted from Frankfurt, Munich, Bremen and Berlin. The U. S. military government contemplated that the German radio stations would be the last medium of information dissemination transferred to German control. As of October 1945, no plans for such a transfer were even under consideration;³⁰⁴ as of March 1946, the U. S. Information Control Division still controlled the six operational German radio stations.

³⁰⁴ U. S. Military Government of Germany *Monthly Report*, no. 3, (Berlin, October 1945), 5.

Among the news material available to U. S. forces in the U. S. occupation zone, *The Stars & Stripes*, authorized by the War Department and printed in Europe (Britain, France and then in Germany, following the troops) beginning in 1942, at a cost of 20 *Pfennig* per copy after capitulation, probably yielded the best sources of information – news as well as entertainment. Hardly a day passed when a service member could not keep up with Blondie, Dick Tracy, L'il Abner, although until 3 June 1945, *Stars and Stripes* printed only three or four strips of comics in each edition. Soldiers could also follow their favorite athletic teams back in the States. With the 3 June 1945 paper, AFN expanded from a four-page paper to an 8-page paper; comic strips expanded to a full page – usually page seven. Most *Stars and Stripes* editions ran front-page updates on redeployment plans and the war's progress in the Pacific Theater, perhaps more riveting than the comic strips in the early days after the war.

Overall, as the occupation progressed, telephone service improved, but by mid-1946, U.S. Army communications specialists calculated that maximum capacity loomed in the distance because of limited equipment and facilities. By April 1946, the U. S. Army had returned much of the communications means to German civilian administration and operation, retaining switchboards, circuits, open wire, radio and other military signal installations required by the U. S. Army. Military government reported in April 1946 that 192,000 telephones operated for the civilian population; and an additional 18,500 military telephones operated through the German civilian agency, *Reichspost*, the civilian agency responsible for this service.

2.2.5 The Army Exchange Service, cigarettes, beer, a toothbrush, underwear, a haircut!

By the 20th century, the old sutler on his horse peddling bare bones items that he could find to sell to the soldiers in the field had long retired. The concept of the Army Exchange

Service (AES) to provide non-issue items to soldiers dates back to a General Order in 1895,³⁰⁵ but until 1945 the organization had never served so large and widespread a community as it would in Europe and particularly Germany over the next fifty or so years. Its primary mission had always been to support the deployed service member, but the growth of military communities overseas would tax the organization's creativity and patience.

As long as the war continued, the Army Exchange Service provided the basics at "minimum expense to servicemembers, merchandise and services of necessity, convenience and comfort not provided from appropriated funds for military forces"³⁰⁶ -- tobacco, candy, toilet articles, coca cola, local beer and occasionally American beer. Of course, who needed American beer when *The Stars and Stripes* in a May 15, 1945 article reported that, "A beer mission is leaving for Germany immediately to get breweries going and provide men in the army of occupation with good lager and ale. The brewers hope to have Heidelberg in operation in a few months, bringing in barley from the United States if necessary." And yes, Budweiser was brought over to Germany from the U. S., still in the wartime OD-green cans. The soldier needed little else as the Army provided clothing, food and shelter. As the war ended with the specter of Germany unable to provide any civilian shopping facilities for the servicemembers, AES managers soon recognized that their mission would grow in spades.

First, AES, caught unprepared at the onset of the military occupation without an approved plan for supplying an occupation force in Germany, scrambled to order and receive even the minimum comfort items required by the forces. Transportation posed the most likely encumbrance initially as shipping, already overburdened, focused on required military shipments

³⁰⁵ James J. Cook, *Chewing Gum, Candy Bars and Beer: the Army PX in World War II* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009), 12.

³⁰⁶ Office of the Chief Historian European Command, *Occupation Forces in Europe Series 1946-1947, The Second Year*, 152.

to the Continent and redeployment of soldiers to the Pacific Theater or back to the United States. Additionally, AES recognized the importance of supporting the thousands of redeploying soldiers waiting in the transient camps to ship out. Providing the basics along with small souvenirs to take home and reading material taxed AES resources. According to the European Command Chief Historian, AES had begun planning for and submitted its first post-war plan to support the remaining occupation force, by December 1945, but failed to garner approval from either USFET or AES headquarters for various reasons.³⁰⁷ One key reason lay with AES organization that had previously functioned in a decentralized manner, managed at command level, to support an organization on the move. AES recognized the necessity of centralizing management and consolidating requisitioning, shipment and storage of resources in the more stabilized post-war environment. Of course, local commanders balked at losing direct control over the AES mission. Nonetheless, between December 1945 and June 1946, AES made several notable gains in their service concept – a concept geared to providing community and family-oriented products.

Second, AES realized relatively early in the fall of 1945, that family members would soon join their spouses in theater, a major event for planners. An enlarged product list to support family life required expanded and more centrally located facilities, a rational ordering system, dedicated transportation assets, centrally located storage facilities (Bremerhaven, Aschaffenburg and Schierstein, on the Rhine near Wiesbaden), on the main transportation routes, and manpower to support the growing mission. Additionally, the facility concept – different levels of stores to

³⁰⁷ Office of the Chief Historian European Command, *Occupation Forces in Europe Series 1945-1946, Army Exchange Service* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1947), 2-9.

service varying community sizes -- offered a variety of services to support the communities, e.g., barber and beauty shops, tailoring and repair services and even on-the-spot eateries.³⁰⁸

Third, AES could not function in occupied Germany on a business-as-usual policy. U. S. military government regulations controlled several critical industry and business aspects that forced creative planning on the part of AES. Two commodities sought after by servicemembers proved excellent and interesting vehicles to make this point: production, acquisition and sale of beer, and sale and repair of automobiles.

The U. S. military government announced in their second official monthly report (August 1945) that the Theater Quartermaster in concert with the Army Exchange Service, would assume responsibility for beer procurement to include selection of German breweries to produce beer, alcohol content not to exceed 3.2%. The Theater Quartermaster had the responsibility to procure the necessary ingredients. Initially, the Quartermaster had to order ingredients from the continental U. S., as German bread production required every grain from the limited crops of barley produced. Additionally, military government regulations prohibited servicemembers from buying products, especially food products directly from Germans, not that the Germans were producing or drinking much beer as the U. S. military government prohibited beer production for German consumption.³⁰⁹ Eventually, AES received permission from the military government to employ 14 German breweries to produce beer for U. S. forces. The product could not, however, be exported outside of Germany, nor could the Germans import any of the ingredients as military government prohibited most import-export transactions. Even if import-export were allowed, Germany had no viable medium of exchange on the international market.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 3.

³⁰⁹ OMGUS *Monthly Report* no. 2, (20 September 1945): 7.

Personal transportation for soldiers was not particularly a problem in 1945, but with the arrival of family members, gathered interest, particularly with the AES, that had started planning in late 1945 to purchase from General Motors and Ford companies and ship to the Continent between 18,000 and 22,000 vehicles between April and August 1946.³¹⁰ The War Department agreed with the AES plan by March 1946, as neither GM nor Ford could sell directly in Germany because the U. S. military government forbade private companies conducting business in Germany. However, the AES plan overestimated GM and Ford production schedules, shipping capability, and the demand for cars in the United States, finally settling for an initial 135 cars and a second order of 150 cars. The first batch arrived in September 1946. Because the demand outstripped the supply, AES used a lottery system to select buyers. Along with the process for selling cars, AES also had to arrange for maintenance facilities and repair parts procurement. AES resolved the maintenance issue by arranging with eight German garage owners to provide this service. Because of the stringent business requirements, General Motors arranged with their former subsidiary in Rüsselsheim, the Adam Opel Company, to also provide maintenance and spare parts on the new vehicles.

Attacking the snags involved in the GM and Ford production delays, AES went after and received permission from the War Department to sell to service members and authorized U. S. civilian employees excess Army vehicles received from the Office of the Foreign Liquidation Commissioner. The first jeeps, in “fair” condition, went on the market for \$400 in June 1946. At about the same time, AES contracted with eight German garage owners for repair work, adding to the 17 or so mini-repair facilities at Exchange locations. AES had already opened a maintenance school at Höchst to train German mechanics in the art of performing maintenance

³¹⁰ Office of the Chief Historian European Command, *Occupation Forces in Europe Series 1945-1946, Exchange Service*, 44-52.

on U. S. Army vehicles. Two additional tasks remained, publishing of a Theater Vehicle and Traffic Code and establishment of a gas ration system (initially 104 gallons per family per month). Finally, Americans in Germany had wheels.³¹¹

2.2.6 Morale: sports, movies, live entertainment, clubs, and religious activities.

By 1950, one commentary observed, “Foxholes were just memories, and most of the occupation troops were living in comfort, sometimes luxuriously in private homes with a Displaced Person or German serving them. Surprisingly superior recreational and educational facilities were gradually made available.”³¹² How was this accomplished?

Many of the sports and recreational facilities were confiscated, particularly the *Zeppelinfeld* at the *Reichsparteitagsgelände* in Nürnberg. In the case of the athletic fields, Army engineers and soldiers usually prepared the fields to accommodate American sports. Facilities not belonging to the Reich were requisitioned, e.g., community swimming pools, private homes, business and community buildings.

The headlines in *The Stars & Stripes* sports section on Saturday, 1 September 1945, described a common activity encouraged by the U. S. Army command structure. Baseball, one of the most popular sports among Americans, drew not only participants but also large audiences. This particular *Stars & Stripes* edition predicted a record crowd of approximately 50,000 spectators at the Nürnberg Soldiers’ Field for the double elimination semifinal games, winner of which took the USFET European Theater title. The “Solders’ Field” mentioned in this article is the former *Zeppelinfeld*, part of the *Reichsparteitagsgelände* in Nürnberg. The U. S. Army no doubt added the baseball field to the area after war’s end.

³¹¹ Ibid., 44-53.

³¹² Robert Engler, “The Individual Soldier and the Occupation,” *American Academy of Political and Social Science* 276, (January 1950): 82.

The sports complex pictured below was taken before World War II, and is today, as before 1933, the famous Weser Stadium in Bremen. After capitulation, U. S. Army forces confiscated this complex and renamed it Ike Stadium.



According to Bremen Port Command's April 1946 Information Brochure:

With a seating capacity of 20,000, Ike Stadium boasts just about every sports facility to be found in any American stadium, including a public address system, press and radio box, mechanical scoreboard, large swimming pool, 26 tennis courts, a baseball diamond, 8 softball diamonds [baseball fields added by the American forces], 2 football fields [probably appropriated the soccer fields], track and jumping pits, an indoor gymnasium for boxing and wrestling and a parking lot.³¹³

Taking time off, or furlough travel, to relax and recuperate became another favorite pastime of soldiers in the first year of occupation. Earl Ziemke chronicled that one of the favorite locations, the French Riviera, offered every activity known to a soldier. The Riviera Recreational Area (RRA) open for business before V-E Day to serve Allied service members

³¹³ Both the picture and the quote: U. S. Army Bremen Port Command, Public Relations Office, *Bremen Port Command's "GI Paradise"* (Bremen, Germany, February 1946): 10. Photos produced by SGT George J. Brady, CPL Roland E. Kluger, and CPL Anselmo Tellez.

stationed in southern France after the successful Operation DRAGOON, and soldiers preparing for redeployment, advertised 18,000 accommodations for enlisted men in Nice and officers in Cannes.³¹⁴ The furlough covered an almost all-expenses paid seven-day vacation. The Director of the RRA provided a pamphlet to its visitors cataloging the enticements. USRRA established three nightclubs, four hotels, and one movie theater for the exclusive use of the soldiers. One of the hotels, Miramar, provided an Officers Club while the *Malmaison* opened for the enlisted men and women. The American Red Cross operated two clubs in Cannes. USRRA arranged motor tours, boating cruises, fishing trips for the interested. Swimming areas, tennis, volleyball and badminton courts offered the athletically inclined competitive opportunities. The more mundane support facilities were also available: two post exchanges, a dispensary, laundry and dry cleaning, religious services (Protestant, Catholic and Jewish) and “Pro [phylactic] Stations” at numerous locations.³¹⁵

The Stars & Stripes regularly listed religious services in the Friday and Saturday editions, and often noted that print space limited listing services locations to major cities in the U. S. occupation zone. Glancing through the list, one reads of a variety of services provided by the U. S. Army, e.g., Jewish Sabbath, Latter Day Saints, Seventh Day Adventist, and the more traditional faiths – Catholic, and various Protestant denominations, in the cities of Augsburg, Bamberg, Bayreuth, Erlangen, Fürth, Munich, Nürnberg, Pilsen, Regensburg, Salzburg, Stuttgart and Würzburg. In some cases, the various community commands used local theaters, churches, as well as military government buildings to provide church services.

The U. S. Information Control Division, by October 1945, provided twenty-three full-length American feature films, as well as a number of documentaries and short films for showing

³¹⁴ Ziemke, *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany 1944-1946*, 332.

³¹⁵ U. S. Riviera Recreation Area Command. *Welcome to the Riviera*. France: 1945.

in German theaters (*Kino*) to German audiences. ICD intended that most of these films, carefully screened for content, would demonstrate the American way of life – propaganda – as part of the initial efforts toward democratization of the Germans. At this time, the ICD had screened and approved the reopening of 94 motion picture theaters in the U. S. occupation zone. An additional 194 film exhibitors received approval to reopen, but lacked sufficient films. By February 1946, the ICD had cleared 349 motion picture theaters. However, German films also required screening for appropriateness and censoring under the denazification program prior to showing; ICD released those films meeting the established criteria. Of the 42 theaters registered and operating in the Berlin District, eight ran American features. The remaining theaters were showing films supplied by the Russian film exchange.³¹⁶

2.2.7 Medical Care: acute and preventive.

U. S. occupation forces faced several acute medical issues at the onset of the occupation. One such issue, the potential onset of epidemics, caused perhaps the greatest concern. Not only did U. S. Army medical personnel have responsibility for the health and welfare of the U. S. forces, but these medical personnel also had to take into consideration the public health status of German civilians, Displaced Persons and refugees. Containing an epidemic in even one of these groups under the conditions present at the end of the war would prove elusive. Part of this predicament resulted from shortage of German medical and public health personnel removed from positions through the denazification program. U. S. military government statistics indicate that “95 percent of the experienced public health officers, 85 percent of hospital staff personnel, and in some areas more that 50 percent of doctors engaged in private practice” had been released

³¹⁶ OMGUS *Monthly Report*, no. 3, (October 1945): 5.

pending denazification proceedings.³¹⁷ The chief cause of the predicament, however, arose from war conditions: shortage of facilities and medical supplies to include various immunizations, destruction or damage to sanitation and water systems, overcrowding of residential facilities and camps, the widespread population movements to include the repatriation of Displaced Persons, as well as the shortages of fuel, food, transportation, and communication facilities.

Tuberculosis, diphtheria, typhoid fever and gonorrhea topped the list of immediate concern. Diphtheria and typhoid fever impacted the U. S Army population only minimally as U. S. service members regularly received immunizations against these diseases; not so the German population, Displaced Persons or other categories of refugees. U. S. Army medical personnel supported by the available German medical personnel adopted immediate immunization programs and worked toward improvement of sanitary conditions and water sources. The biggest problem occurred from war damage to water lines. Relative to sanitation, as of August 1945, the water supply system at Darmstadt was the only system approved for use by U. S. military forces in the U. S. zone. According to the second monthly report of the military government, repairing water distribution systems placed second in priority only to repair of power transmission lines.³¹⁸ The third disease, gonorrhea, created a bit more of a problem as U. S. servicemembers contracted venereal diseases primarily through contact with local populations. Immediately after V-E Day, military government medical reports focused on the rising venereal disease (VD) rates among Germans as being “the most extensive hazard to troops over the whole United States Zone.”³¹⁹ U. S. Army medical personnel engaged early in treating Germans and U. S. forces against VD through an active information campaign, regular

³¹⁷ Office of the Director, Office of Military Government (U. S. Zone), United States Forces European Theater, *Military Government Weekly Information Bulletin*, no. 17, (17 November 1945): 7-9.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

³¹⁹ OMGUS Monthly Report, *Public Health and Medical Affairs*, no. 2, (20 September 1945): 2.

monitoring of infected persons and treatment of VD by the use of penicillin. Soldiers received early briefings on the hazards of VD. One such short commentary appeared in one of the early orientation booklets, *Occupation*: “One of the tragic after-effects of the war is the high number of European girls driven into prostitution. There are more of them than ever, and they have a far

higher rate of venereal disease.

It’s a direct result of bad housing, scarce food, poor sanitation, too few doctors and destroyed hospitals. From your point of view, it all adds up to a greater risk of getting venereal disease than ever existed in the States. General Eisenhower called these European prostitutes ‘booby traps.’ More



men were knocked out by this variety than by the real article. Don’t be a VD casualty.”³²⁰

Another source of constant reminders to the occupation forces, *The Stars & Stripes*, adopted *Veronika* as their VD poster girl, and a soldier often found *Veronika* on page 2 of a *Stars & Stripes* newspaper.³²¹ Petra Goedde suggested that *Veronika* served two purposes: to warn off

³²⁰ United States Forces European Theater, “Occupation,” (Frankfurt, April 1946): 10.

³²¹ For solid insight into German-American gendered relationships, see: Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: the German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002) and Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans, Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

GIs from VD and from Nazi ideology. “*Veronika* was not only infected with VD but also with Nazi ideology, and that she set out to pass both on to her ignorant American lovers.”³²²

A military government monthly report, six months after V-E Day noted that USFET directed its logistics command, Theater Service Forces, to order 225,000 vials of penicillin, much of it transferred to local German medical facilities for treatment of infected individuals in the German population.³²³ Interestingly, Goedde included a chart, Geographical Description of Contacts Resulting in Venereal Disease, wherein based on a medical survey of approximately 123,000 soldiers with VD between 6 July and 21 December 1945, France had the highest number of VD origin, at 56,320 cases. Germany was second with 43,988.³²⁴ After eighteen months, VD continued to present itself actively in the German community. *The OMGUS Monthly Report*, September and October 1946, reported 14,278 cases in August and 11,871 cases in September, for a cumulative to 1 October 1946 of 99,367 cases of gonorrhea among German civilians in the U. S. occupation zone³²⁵ -- 225,000 vials of penicillin would not have lasted long.

The U.S. Army staffed 307 fixed and mobile hospitals providing 258,150 beds in the European Theater on V-E Day. Planning hospital closures and reductions had already begun before V-E Day, with the objective to reduce to eighteen hospitals in Germany to support an expected troop reduction to a 370,000-person occupation force. The initial intent to construct new hospitals quickly changed to repair and alteration of existing buildings, preferably buildings within *Kasernen* because of shortage of funds as well as building materials. According to the Headquarters European Command Historian, the Command Surgeon selected twenty sites (two

³²² Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949*, 92-94.

³²³ Office of the Director, Office of Military Government (U. S. Zone) United States Forces European Theater, *Military Government Weekly Field Report*, no. 16, (27 October 1945): 20.

³²⁴ Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949*, 93. Source of her data: Office of the Chief Historian European Command, *Occupation Forces in Europe Series, 1945-1946. Fraternization with the Germans in World War II* (Frankfurt-am-Main: OMGUS, 1947), 77.

³²⁵ *OMGUS Monthly Report*, no. 16, “Health and Medical Affairs,” (September-October 1946): Figure 21.

in Austria), thirteen of which were not already hospitals. “Hospital construction standards for the occupation forces were established on a 10 year operational basis although construction materials necessary to meet these standards were not readily available.”³²⁶ Skilled German artisans supervised by U. S. Army Engineers completed the alterations and repair on fifteen of the sites by 30 September 1945, four more by 10 December 1945, and the last site at Bremen by 15 January 1946.³²⁷ By this point, however, the U. S. War Department lowered the Occupation Troop Basis downward to 300,000 personnel, triggering a reduction to seventeen hospitals in Germany and Austria.

PART B. Support the Local Populations

3. Logistics: the local populations – Germans, Displaced Persons, Expellees and Refugees

Observers declared Europe following war’s end as “A Continent in Ruins.” One result of the war was the staggering dislocation of population. According to a *The Times (London)* news article just after VE-Day, Europe was on the move with “exiles heading home.”³²⁸ About eight million *Zwangsarbeiter* (forced laborers), brought into Germany and exploited by the Nazis to increase the labor force, roamed the country looking for food and shelter. The Allied forces were able to repatriate close to seven million of these Displaced Persons, some 4.1 million by U. S. forces, by the late summer of 1945. The U. S. forces supported around 500 camps sheltering perhaps 800,000 DPs by 1 August 1945 – exact figures seem to elude record-keepers. Another 13.5 million German refugees fled west from Eastern Europe, and within a year, and in

³²⁶ Office of the Chief Historian European Command, *Occupation Forces in Europe Series 1945-1946. The Physical Plant – Its Procurement, Construction, and Maintenance*, 40.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Mark Wyman, *DPs: Europe’s Displaced Persons, 1941-1951* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 15-37. Of course, not all exiles headed home, nor did all want to return. As late as two years after the war over 400,000 exiles still resided in centers or on the German economy, in the U. S. occupation zone, most refusing to return home. (See Appendix IV.4.2.) Additionally, four years later, 272,474 Displaced Persons, apparently opting not to repatriate, remained in Germany, 120,841 residing in the 49 remaining DP centers 148,916 living in the German economy and 9,707 serving as members of the civilian labor service units.

accordance with the Potsdam Protocol, expelled people of German-extraction from Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria (the *Reichsdeutsche*) entered Germany looking for food and shelter. By January 1948, over three million DPs resided in the U. S. occupation zone.³²⁹ *The Times (London)*, 19 May 1945, suggested that millions of “displaced persons” presented only “formidable problems of transport and organization.”³³⁰ That formidable transport/organization mission cost the U. S. Government, for the Fiscal Year 1947 (1 July 1946 to 30 June 1947) approximately \$42 million in Government and Relief in Occupied Areas (GAROA) funds and another \$100 million U. S. Army funds for supplies for the period. These figures do not include personnel costs for U. S. forces supporting the DP centers. Of the various groups requiring assistance, the Displaced Persons category cost U. S. forces the most in resources to include work force. This mission persisted throughout the military occupation.

3.1 Who was responsible for the POWs, DPs, Expellees and Refugees?

Clearly, terms of the “Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, Geneva July 27, 1929,” required the U. S. Army to provide appropriate care and feeding to prisoners of war (POWs) captured and interred by U. S. forces. Moreover, the U. S. Army, in accordance with JCS 1067, Part I, paragraph 4d acquired the responsibility to “ensure that prisoners of war and displaced persons of the United Nations are cared for and repatriated.”³³¹ In accordance with guidance from General Eisenhower, the U. S. Army categorized German military prisoners captured or who surrendered prior to Germany’s unconditional surrender on 8 May 1945 as prisoners of war (POW) and those captured or who surrendered after 8 May 1945 as Disarmed Enemy Forces (DEFs). To a German soldier, the designation, Disarmed Enemy Forces, meant

³²⁹ Jane Perry Clark Carey, *The Role of Uprooted People in European Recovery* (Washington DC: National Planning Association, October 1948), 20-21.

³³⁰ *The Times (London)*. Issue 50146 19 May 1945.

³³¹ Cassidy, *Germany 1947-1949. The Story in Documents*, “1945 Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U. S. Forces of Occupation (JCS 1067),” 23.

that he would not receive the same level of support as a prisoner of war -- theoretically, support would fall to local German populations to provide. Both groups totaled 1,528,024 of which the U. S. Army employed, as of 30 September 1945, 575,214 POWs and DEFs in 2,448 German service units.³³² These service units supplemented U. S. Army logistics units, performing a myriad of tasks, e.g., tree-cutting, loading and unloading supplies, and eventually even skilled labor in U. S. Army bakeries, transportation maintenance facilities and security units. So long as the POWs and DEFs worked service unit projects fulfilling occupational tasks, they received approximately 2,800 calories per day, and often barrack facilities.³³³

3.2 Population Categories.

The categories and the movements of non-indigenous people in Germany as well as those peoples fleeing to Germany looking for a place to stay and food to eat added to the already chaotic scene at war's end within Germany. Initially, the care and feeding of Displaced Persons (the *Zwangsarbeiter*) created the most critical problems for Allied forces. Generally, the term, Displaced Persons (DPs), refers to approximately eight million foreign workers forcibly removed from their homelands into Germany to supplement the indigenous workforce. Often referred to as "slaves of the Nazi regime," these people represented roughly 29% of the Germany's wartime industrial force. A fair number worked as construction crews for submarine bunkers and defense walls in the *Organisation Todt*. Generally, these *Zwangsarbeiter* lived and worked separately from German workers, and not under the best living conditions. After the unconditional surrender, most Displaced Persons had neither work nor sustenance; many wandered on foot in the countryside looking for shelter and food. Displaced Persons constituted a serious problem

³³² *U. S. Forces European Theater Weekly Information Bulletin*, no. 4, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff G-5 Division, Reports and Information Branch, (18 August 1945): 21. Also tracked in *OMGUS Monthly Report*, no. 3, (20 October 1945): 21.

³³³ *Ibid.*

for Allied Forces as they moved east through Germany, a problem resolved initially to some degree by housing the DPs along with their family members in available camps and abandoned military kasernes and feeding them from surplus Army rations.

3.2.1 Expellees (aka New Citizens).

The looming problem of resettling German populations expelled from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Austria (the *Reichsdeutsche*) under the terms of the Potsdam Protocol, Section XII, Orderly Transfer of German Populations, also faced occupation authorities. OMGUS officials expected to receive between 2.5 and 3.25 million of the estimated 12 million expelled from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Austria, countries where German ancestors had migrated to centuries earlier. This movement began in January 1946. Relocation and support of the expellees fell to those German communities so designated by the German *Länderrat*. The U. S. Army provided transportation from the German borders to the appropriate receiving communities as needed. While expellees did not belong to the category of Displaced Persons and responsibility for housing, feeding and clothing this group fell on German agencies, the military assumed out of humanitarian reasons much of the support – at least in the U. S. and British zones.

3.2.2 Refugees.

Refugees created a third category of population fleeing into Germany, primarily from countries to the east, and in some cases, from the south of Germany. German agencies bore responsibility for housing, feeding and clothing refugees in the same manner as expellees and Disarmed Enemy Forces. Because the U. S. Army mission under JCS 1067 included support specifically for the welfare and care of Displaced Persons, the following sections focus on U. S. Army support to this group.

3.2.3 Displaced Persons.

Until shortly after V-E Day, U. S. Army detachments focused on mass DP repatriation efforts. Daniel Deluce, writing in September 1945 for the *Stars & Stripes*, commented, “The DP is on the way to becoming an extinct species.”³³⁴ According to his article, as well as a note in the TSFET Weekly Bulletin,³³⁵ between April and July 1945, U. S. military forces repatriated more than four million Displaced Persons; between two and 1.6 million Displaced Persons remained in centers. However, neither Daniel Deluce nor U. S. occupation authorities expected that a large number of those Displaced Persons remaining in the camps would refuse repatriation, thus requiring alternate arrangements not only for their future settlement but also for longer-term services within the centers.

By mid-summer 1945, General Eisenhower acknowledged that his forces did not possess the manpower to administer the mass of DPs camps and centers scattered throughout the U. S. occupation zone. He prearranged with the Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) Herbert H. Lehman that U. S. occupation forces would work together with UNRRA under the condition that UNRRA supervised and maintained the centers and camps, arranging repatriation and resettlement issues for the Displaced Persons within the U. S. occupation zone in Germany.³³⁶ The U. S. Army forces would provide logistics support. UNRRA assumed responsibility for management and administration of the DP centers effective 1 October 1945. UNRRA actually preceded the formation of the United Nations

³³⁴ Daniel De Luce, “Refugees Pour Into Reich; DPs Pour Out,” *The Stars & Stripes*, 2 September 1945. Daniel De Luce, born in 1912, an Associated Press journalist, received the Pulitzer Prize (1944) for his wartime reporting.

³³⁵ *U. S. Forces European Theater Weekly Information Bulletin*, no. 5, (25 August 1945): 10

³³⁶ *U. S. Forces European Theater Weekly Information Bulletin*, no. 5, “The Role of UNRRA in the DP Operation,” (25 Aug 1945): 9-12. “It is the intention of the Supreme Commander, AEF, that UNRRA personnel shall replace military personnel to the maximum extent and as soon as possible in the handling of displaced persons and refugees, subject to the requirements of the military situation.” SHAEF Administrative Memorandum No. 39, Revised (Section 2, Appendix C). No date given on the SHAEF Administrative Memorandum, but General Eisenhower and Herbert Lehman signed the agreement in November 1944.

organization, signing a formal agreement on 9 November 1943. Forty-four countries met at the first meeting, pledging to cooperate financing and administering relief aid in liberated areas lacking sufficient resources to provide for themselves. President Roosevelt, having suggested the formation of UNRRA, appointed Herbert Lehman as the first director-general of the organization. UNRRA became part of the United Nations in 1945, functioned until 1947, at which time its mission was taken over by the International Refugee Organization, which continued to serve refugees until 1952. Working with the Displaced Persons and other refugees constituted the biggest mission of UNRRA and its successor, IRO, in the European arena.³³⁷

U.S. occupation authorities countersigned an agreement with UNRRA, 19 February 1946, continuing agreements from the summer 1945, that U. S. occupation forces would retain responsibility for the care, control, supply and movement of Displaced Persons in the U. S. occupation zone. UNRRA would continue to administer the assembly centers, camps and monitor the groups of DPs living outside the centers. The U. S. occupation forces discharged its mission under the supervision of the G-5 Civil Affairs Division, USFET, and after the USFET reorganization in March 1947, under the supervision of the Civil Affairs Division, Headquarters EUCOM. According to U. S. Army sources from this period, the Army mission focused on execution: the G5 and Civil Affairs divisions requisitioned food, clothing, shelter, health and sanitation items for between 350 and 500 centers and camps within the U. S. occupation zone, the number of centers decreasing slowly during the military occupation. Subordinate quartermaster and transportation units provided transportation, warehousing of supplies, gasoline, oil and maintenance for UNRRA vehicles. U. S. Army medical and dental units supplemented UNRRA medical care as needed. U. S. Army Signal units provided telephone

³³⁷ United Nations Information Office, "The United Nations Today and Tomorrow," (29 May 1945): 38-39. United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, "Report of the Director General to the Council for the Period, 1 April 1945 to 30 June 1945."

communication lines for UNRRA centers. As the general chaos, infusing the immediate post-war environment receded, UNRRA and the U. S. Army added services including work, recreation, religious and educational opportunities. Finally yet importantly, even as the U. S. Army mission in support of Displaced Persons fluctuated with the exigencies of time and place, the U. S. Army retained responsibility for law and order among Displaced Persons centers, furnishing guards and security troops as needed to avoid any conflicts resulting from German handling of DPs during the war. As the occupation continued, and with the constant reduction of U. S. Army forces in Germany, appropriately screened Displaced Persons assumed law and order responsibilities within each center, under supervision of U. S. Army forces. Although the German civilian police forces steadily grew during this period, U. S. occupation policy prescribed against substituting German police authority for U. S. military authority.

Initially, the U. S. Army hoped to requisition most of these food items from German stocks; however, hope was not a good plan. Considering the inability of many German communities to provide for their own reduced rations, first the U.S. Army and then the U. S. Government recognized the need to supplement shortages either by importing items or through relief efforts. Fortunately, the UNRRA and its successor, the International Refugee Organization, managed and supervised the majority of the relief efforts through welfare agencies to include the Red Cross, National Catholic Welfare Conference, American Friends Service Committee, and the American Joint Distribution Committee.³³⁸

3.2.3.1 Billeting.

Approximately 500 centers and camps, housing roughly 800,000 Displaced Persons operated within the U. S. occupation zone in the summer 1945. By 1 Jan 1947, the numbers of both centers and DPs decreased to 443 Displaced Persons centers and approximately 350,000

³³⁸ Ibid., 12.

DPs in the U. S. occupation zone, Germany, most concentrated around confiscated NSDAP/government buildings and particularly *Wehrmacht* kasernes and facilities that substituted for home and community to this population. (See Appendix IV.4.3.1 for a partial list of DP centers.)³³⁹

Many facilities required major repair – both work crews and repair material scarce. During the 1½ years following the institution of military government, many facilities, hardly *Beautiful Homes and Gardens* awardees, at least sported repaired roofs, windows, some glass and others plastic or whatever workable material scrounged from the rubble, and offered a measure of heat and electricity. In many cases, the residents themselves repaired what they could with the scarce supplies provided from the local German communities, the U. S. Army, and relief organizations through the UNRRA and International Refugee Organization. Although extremely limited, living space allowed families to remain together. Most centers, equipped with dispensaries, space for schools, workshops and religious services, and offering a variety of social activities depending on the ethnic make-up of the groups, served these Displaced Persons communities far better than facilities in the German communities for those DPs living outside the centers, and certainly better than under the Nazi regime. Perusing 30 June 1946 data on the status of Displaced Persons in the U. S. occupation zone in Germany, 373,758 DPs lived in the camps and centers while 117,149 DPs lived outside the centers. Information on this latter group is indeed scanty, though members of this group could move into the centers up until June 1947, and certainly qualified for subsistence support. Nonetheless, repatriation for those wishing to return to their homelands or resettlement for those not willing to return remained the objective of

³³⁹ It seems that U. S. Military authorities had a difficult time keeping track of exact figures on number and location of the many centers. This was not unusual, as firstly, camps would reconstitute based on a desire to include ethnic groups in one location, or, secondly, particularly during the 1945 winter, facilities could not be repaired or heated to a the level needed to support communities, thus requiring relocation of the DPs to more supportive facilities.

both the U. S. military government and the UNRRA/IRO. Interestingly, as early as December 1945, U. S. military authorities had already calculated that about 217,395 DPs had opted for non-repatriation. Four years later, 272,474 Displaced Persons, apparently opting not to repatriate, remained in Germany, 120,841 residing in the 49 remaining DP centers 148,916 living in the German economy and 9,707 serving as members of the civilian labor service units.

The U. S. Army support mission to the Displaced Person project ended on 1 July 1950, as the mission transferred from the International Refugee Organization to German authorities.

3.2.3.2 Feeding.

Feeding any population in devastated Germany after 1945 often exacerbated tensions as some groups received a higher level of rations at the expense of other groups, and proved an extremely challenging task for U. S. Army forces during much of the military occupation. The official policy toward Displaced Persons in the U. S. occupation zone prescribed that in general the German population would not receive as high a ration as the DPs; that the ration for the average DP hovered around 2000 calories per day. The German population lived on an official rationed scale of calories that fluctuated often during the occupation period, but rarely reached 2,000 calories per day depending on the category or condition of the individual e.g., mine worker, child, pregnancy, hospitalized. While some special rates, e.g., the persecutee ration existed, the rates shown in the following chart represent the standard for DPs by 1946.³⁴⁰

³⁴⁰ The Provost Marshal General's School, Military Government Department, *Occupation Forces in Europe Series, Displaced Persons 1946-1947* (Karlsruhe, GE: Historical Division European Command, 8 Feb 1951), 12-14.

Category	Calories
Children to 1 year	1,790
Children 1 to 5 years	1,650
Children 6 to 17 years	2,650
Normal consumers	2,000
Persons requiring special care but not hospitalized	2,700
Expectant and nursing mothers	2,700
Workers	3,000
Hospitalized	3,200

The following chart indicates the categories and source of food rations in net long tons. The first column, Total Issued Stocks, represents the issue from U. S. Army Civil Affairs/military government stocks. The second column, Estimated Issues, represents items from the German economy, its domestic production, and items imported by OMGUS to supplement the German ration.³⁴¹

	Total Issued Stocks	Estimated German Issues	Total
Total	77,029.67	134,164.04	211,193.71
Item			
Cereals, flour	20,546.69	37,342.00	57,888.69
Meats, fish, fats	10,110.05	5,645.36	15,755.41
Fruits, vegetables	21,204.69	71,859.08	93,063.77
Milk, milk products	9697.58	17,956.82	27,654.40
Sugar, jams	4,760.29	300.00	5,060.29
Miscellaneous	10,710.37	1,060.78	11,771.15

To provide this level of support in Fiscal Year 1946-1947, the U. S. Army Civil Affairs agencies issued and arranged military transportation for a total of 211,193.71 long tons (plus packaging) of various food products delivered to the ten supply points – Augsburg, Bayreuth, Darmstadt, Heilbronn, Kassel, Lauf an der Pegnitz, Munich, Regensburg, Rosenheim and Würzburg.³⁴² From these points, U. S. quartermaster and transportation assets fanned out to the 430+ DP centers on regular weekly trips. U. S. Army stocks comprised approximately 77,029.67

³⁴¹ Ibid., 13-14.

³⁴² Ibid., 12-14.

long tons, while the German economy and items, originally intended to supplement the German ration, imported by the U. S. military government, accounted for an additional 134,164.04 long tons.³⁴³

PART C. Support the Families.

4. Logistics Really Matters: Little Americas begin to crawl.

The nearly imperceptible birth of Little Americas in Germany emerged with the appointment at USFET Headquarters of the Special Occupational Planning Board on 19 September 1945. Evidence suggests that the issue of family members joining their spouses in overseas assignments spawned the convening of this Board. *The Stars and Stripes* 12 May 1945 issue reported that the ban on dependents of Army personnel “joining husbands and relatives overseas” would remain in place because of shortages of transportation, food and housing.³⁴⁴ Although the first family members did not arrive in Germany until April 1946, the question of joining their spouses in occupied Germany arose as early as 4 June 1945 when General Eisenhower, SHAEF Commander, asked General Marshall about “the possibility of enunciating some policy whereby certain personnel in the occupation forces could bring their wives to this country.”³⁴⁵

By August 1945, the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1, ETOUSA/USFET Headquarters recommended to the USFET Chief of Staff that consideration of facilities expansion to provide for family members allowed to join their spouses should begin. This recommendation did not

³⁴³ Ibid., 1947-1948. Publication date unknown, but presumed to be February 1951.

³⁴⁴ “Restrictions Continue on Overseas Travel,” *Stars & Stripes*, 12 May 1945.

³⁴⁵ Letter from General Dwight D. Eisenhower to General George C. Marshall, dated 4 June 1945. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library under Finding Aid: Occupied Germany by the U. S. Army. Dwight D. Eisenhower Pre-Presidential Papers, 1916-1952. Box 80 March-June 1945: Marshall Papers. *The Stars & Stripes*. 22 November 1945, carried a news article, commenting on General Eisenhower’s press conference in Boone, Iowa, and mentioned his request for family members to join their spouses overseas. Additionally, see Donna Alvah, *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 21-37.

target the arrival of family members specifically; rather, the recommendation focused on the possibility of a long-term occupation and the wisdom of consolidating troop locations into more permanent, compact installations “similar to pre-war Army posts in the United States.”³⁴⁶ After approval by the Chief of Staff, the Special Occupational Planning Board convened with the specific task of planning military communities (MILCOMs) in occupied Germany.³⁴⁷

Arguably, the decision allowing family members to join stationed spouses overseas stressed improvement of troop morale as the primary consideration. However, many of the old-timers who had not been home for a while redeployed within the first 6-9 months after V-E Day. Consequently, the massive redeployment and return to the U. S. by the end of 1945 resolved the issue for about 2 ½ million of the slightly over 3 million service members stationed in Europe on V-E Day. The soldiers who had served less than two years had to serve out their terms. Of this group, officers, all ranks, and the most senior non-commissioned officers, E-7 to E-9, wishing to bring family members overseas, had to agree initially to a minimum service in occupied Germany of one year.

Several factors combined to convince the War Department of the sagacity in allowing family members to join their spouses overseas. While fraternization phased out officially over the early months of the occupation, both a staggering venereal disease rate and the booming illegitimate birth rate brought about by fraternization of U. S. soldiers with local women caused enough concern to elicit serious monitoring and potential disciplinary action by U. S. occupation authorities. According to Franklin Davis, German authorities estimated that occupation soldiers

³⁴⁶ Office of the Chief Historian European Command, Occupation Forces in Europe Series, *Domestic Economy*, (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1947), 8.

³⁴⁷ At the suggestion of General James M. Bevens, USFET Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1, and approved by General Eisenhower’s Chief of Staff, General Bedell Smith. The Board consisted of six officers: the Deputy Chief of Staff, G1, G3, G4, G5 as well as a secretary from Secretary General Staff. Office of the Chief Historian European Command, Occupation Forces in Europe Series, *Domestic Economy* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1947), 5.

fathered between twenty to thirty thousand illegitimate children. The joke in many German communities, “In the next war, just send the uniforms, you left the Army here,” rankled.³⁴⁸

Notwithstanding the medical, economic and moral issues surrounding fraternization, two less personal but certainly pertinent arguments supported the policy of shipping family members to Europe to join their spouses. Such a move would eliminate the cost to families of managing two households; coincidentally, such a move would reduce the War Department’s budget for funding two households. Furthermore, American family life in German communities would provide to the “peoples of occupied countries an example of democratic American family and home life,”³⁴⁹ or, as Donna Alvah contends, the domestic side of the American lifestyle – families, wives, children, as well as their service member spouses – “could exert soft-power influence that both complemented and tempered the United States’ hard-power martial presence.”³⁵⁰

Perhaps the foremost solid rationale for shipping family members overseas lie in the Army’s desperate need to keep, if not the specially trained personnel, at least those with experience in Theater operations to complete not only the troop redeployment but also the massive equipment redeployment mission of the U. S. Army in Europe. Additionally, perhaps the benefit of bringing family members overseas might stimulate volunteers for overseas duty. The assumption had always been that Americans would live overseas as they did in America.

4.1 U. S. Army planning and logistics preparation for family arrivals.

The Special Occupational Planning Board convened officially on 5 October 1945 and thereafter twice monthly until it dissolved in March 1946 as various Headquarters staff sections picked up the Board’s duties. According to *Domestic Economy*, the Board assumed for planning

³⁴⁸ Davis, *Come as Conqueror: The United States Army’s Occupation of Germany 1945-1949*, 117.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 2.

³⁵⁰ Alvah, *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War, 1946-1965*, 227.

purposes an indefinite occupation period of at least five years. Further, the bulk of the financial costs would come from German reparation funds. Finally, the Board recognized that some construction materials and funding would have to come from the United States. Initially, the War Department approved the USFET recommendations, with the caveat that construction and rehabilitation costs would be borne by reparation payments from the Germans -- a warning that Congress would limit expenditures in Germany and that any expenditures would be under scrutiny. This proved to be the case, especially with funding requests in mid-Spring 1946 when USFET requested funds for the overseas school system as well as funding for building material not available in Germany. At this time, Germany was not the only country short on building materials – this seemed to be a worldwide problem, therefore, requests for building material support met resistance on not only cost bases, but also shortage issues in the Continental U. S. (CONUS).³⁵¹

Established to plan for MILCOMS during the occupation, the Board's tasks included not only facilities for dependents, but also "permanent troop and headquarters locations, barracks, utilities, recreational facilities, officers' and non-commissioned officers' quarters, clubs, expanded commissary and post exchange installations, and children's schools."³⁵² Not mentioned in this source, but equally critical, expansion of medical and transportation capabilities joined the list of tasks. The basic questions required answers: How many military communities would support the troops and family members for how long, beginning when?

The target date for the first shipload of family members to arrive loomed in the near future: April 1946. As for number of family members, the planning figure of 90,000, based on

³⁵¹ Letter from Major General Thomas Handy, Chief, OPD, War Department, to Major General Bull, USFET Deputy Chief of Staff, 8 November 1945, and Office of the Chief Historian European Command, Occupation Forces in Europe Series, *Domestic Economy*, 1947.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 5. Also, see Davis, *Come as Conquerors: The United States Army's Occupation of Germany 1945-1949*, generally Chapter 12.

two groups of troops authorized to request shipment of family members (officers and non-commissioned officers, E7-E9), and an Occupational Troop Basis (OTB) of 363,000,³⁵³ proved excessive. Nonetheless, the scope of planning and execution for the arrival of approximately 90,000 family members, as huge as it was, especially in the face of considerable budget constraints, constant nay-saying, if not occasional outright disapproval from the War Department, proceeded on schedule.

Problems arose as the Board and USFET Headquarters progressed along their timeline. First, one of the Board's planning list of assumptions, sent out to subordinate commands, directed these commands to seek out existing German *Wehrmacht* and *Luftwaffe* installations as possible stationing locations, giving critical thought to such factors as access to logistics resupply, deployment issues should the force have to deploy, and extent and cost of rehabilitation. However, particularly at this time, many German military installations housed Displaced Persons. According to *Domestic Economy*, as many as 55 of the 112 selected sites housed Displaced Persons. Even if the Army relocated the DPs in a timely fashion to a desirable and workable location, taking over the then-vacated kasernes, clearly USFET could not provide accommodations for the planned 90,000 arrivals.

USFET G-1 then established a priority system for both transportation³⁵⁴ and assignment of quarters. Relative to billeting arrangements, the ability of a particular community to receive family members depended on available accommodations. In most cases, available accommodations depended on the ability of the German community to fill requisitions and the willingness of U. S. commanders to demand requisition fills. Additional criteria figured into the decision-making process, e.g., availability of potable water and sewage disposal systems,

³⁵³ The OTB for U. S. occupation zone, Germany would eventually sink to 300,000.

³⁵⁴ Transportation included not only family member travel, but also transportation of limited household goods and in some cases, an automobile.

commissary facilities, a post exchange stocking essential items, utility maintenance services and adequate utilities to include light and heat for cooking, a community security organization, medical and evacuation facilities for women and children, and a fire fighting organization. Obviously a short suspense for such detail but one way or the other, USFET Headquarters directed subordinate commands to have final planning completed in January 1946, provided an interim status report to the War Department in December 1945, and finalized plans for the first shipment of family members in April 1946.

While the War Department prepared paperwork and arranged transportation of family members to the ports of debarkation, it more specifically delineated restrictions placed on USFET with respect to funding issues not only on construction policy but also on establishment of schools for family members' children. The Office of the Adjutant General initially refused to authorize U. S. War Department appropriated funds or the shipment of materials from the United States for construction or rehabilitation of facilities for dependents travelling to join their spouses in Germany, allowing that reparations-in-kind and materials available locally would be favorably regarded. Further, Army stocks not excess to the needs of the major commands were excluded from the category of locally available materials. Last, and equally discouraging, no additional United States Army personnel were authorized for the accomplishment of the construction and rehabilitation efforts.³⁵⁵ This back-and-forth on funding between the War Department and USFET continued not only into June-July 1946 timeframe, but also for most of the military occupation. Reductions in the Occupational Troop Basis from the September 1945 figure of 363,000 to 200,000 by 1 January 1947, then to a reduction of 160,000 personnel by 1 July 1947 further complicated planning projections. Not only did the Overseas Troop Basis (OTB)

³⁵⁵ Summarized from *Domestic Economy*, pages 21-22, from Cable W-95087, 30 January 1946, Adjutant General, War Department to Commanding General, USFET.

reduction decrease the number of family members eligible to join their spouses;³⁵⁶ this reduction, coupled with impending consolidation and reorganization of military units rendered projections of what communities would remain open even more difficult.

USFET G-4 Plans Division sent its tasking memorandum (see Appendix IV.5.1); to the Headquarters staff agencies officially on 15 November 1945. Of course, some of these tasks had been “works in progress” for several months. It seems from the list that a lot of work remained to be completed and the War Department had clearly drawn the lines on availability of appropriated funds for construction and rehabilitation. Eventually, some funding became available - USFET developed the argument that the War Department budget would save funds from non-payment of stateside rental allowances for those families traveling overseas. Additionally, USFET would save on transportation costs by restricting shipment of baggage allowances for family members traveling overseas. The War Department backed down somewhat, authorizing the Theater to use existing Engineer funds (\$1.6 million) for MILCOM development and allowed the USFET Quartermaster to request up to \$2.2 million additional funds for the fiscal year ending June 1946.³⁵⁷ The War Department however reiterated its earlier conditions relative to development of military communities – consume supplies and material excess to Army needs and procure shortages through reparations (occupation funds) from local sources. Nonetheless, arrival planning for the first boatload of family members still focused on April 1946.

By December 1945, of the original 112 community locations considered, 75 remained as feasible projects. The USFET Engineer published (in December) the upcoming construction

³⁵⁶ To qualify for dependent travel the sponsoring service member had to remain in Theater for at least one year. With prospective OTB reductions, figuring out who would leave or stay was difficult.

³⁵⁷ Office of the Chief Historian European Command, Occupation Forces in Europe Series, *Domestic Economy*, 23.

program for USFET, Germany (see Appendix IV.4.1).³⁵⁸ This chart reflected a mix of purely military facilities as well as family member facilities. However, even if available manpower equaled the estimated manpower, projects dragged on because of shortages in funds and material.

Regardless, USFET moved forward with its April 1946 arrival date, published application instructions for transportation and billeting arrangements in February 1946, directed subordinate units to submit applications for the April shipment to Theater Headquarters, through the chain of command, no later than 1 March 1946.³⁵⁹ The first families did indeed arrive in April 1946. Less than a year from V-E Day, the reality of transient fighting troops redeploying out of Europe in general and Germany in particular permutated into a military force looking like an American community settling in for an indefinite stay.

4.2 The first families arrive in Germany, April 1946.

The United States Army Troopship (USAT) Thomas H. Barry arrived in Bremerhaven, Germany with 379 family members on 28 April 1946.³⁶⁰ Headquarters USFET prohibited occupation force sponsors from meeting their families as Bremen port accommodations could not yet support visitors. Various Bremerhaven port officials shepherded family members from the ship onto the appropriate trains, heading in the directions of their occupation force sponsors.

LTG Clay wrote of his experience-in-waiting at the Berlin *Bahnhof* for the duty train:

This proved to be a wait of several hours as locomotive troubles delayed the train. In a few months our dependents in Germany aggregated about 30,000 persons, scattered in many communities. Shortly after their arrival one of our press correspondents in Berlin remarked that our life in Germany had become a replica of American suburban life.³⁶¹

³⁵⁸ Office of the Chief Historian European Command, Occupation Forces in Europe Series, 1945-1946, *The Physical Plant – Its Procurement, Construction and Maintenance*, 49.

³⁵⁹ Subsequent requirements allowed more time for processing – roughly three months between submission and shipment.

³⁶⁰ *The Stars and Stripes*, 29 Apr 46.

³⁶¹ Clay, *Decision in Germany*, 70-71.

4.2.1 Where to live and how to move around?

Because of the shortages of funds, building materials and labor, the first family arrivals received housing requisitioned from the local German communities. This could take several forms, e.g., apartments and duplexes, hotel rooms converted for families, or single-family homes. U. S. military government regulations prohibited American families from living in the same buildings as German families, consequently the American families often found themselves either in an enclave of requisitioned living quarters, or isolated from any other Americans. Nonetheless, their sponsors and the sponsoring military organization had on many occasions already Americanized the living accommodations with the necessary accoutrements to include often enough even a maid (who lived in the quarters, space allowing), and a shared gardener/maintenance person.

Headquarters, EUCOM discontinued requisitioning living quarters from the Germans in 1947. The Headquarters had to plan and budget for new construction or significant repair of existing facilities to house families coming in. The War Department authorized a measure of funding while the occupation funds account provided the bulk of funds for primarily repairs. By 1949, the German Government allocated a budget to the occupation forces for new construction and repairs. By December 1949, 17,621 U. S. military families lived in Germany. Family members number 38,624, of which 37,188 lived in permanent quarters, 2,360 in temporary quarters and 640 in transient quarters. German Government appropriations for 1949-1950, assured construction of an additional 1,948 units.

4.2.2 Furniture, refrigerators, stoves, washing machines and vacuum cleaners.

Many German appliances operated on 220-volt alternating current. Doubtless some of the better German homes requisitioned by the U. S. Army contained some of this equipment.

However, for those American families living in modified facilities, converted hotels or converted barracks, the U. S. Army Quartermaster had to procure and ship from CONUS refrigerators, electric stoves, washing machines and the like. Some families arranged to ship small appliances as part of their household goods. The American families operated any small American-made electrical appliances with transformers, as most American equipment ran on 110-volt currency. One Army wife wrote of her experience in her Berlin home in 1946.

I had one especially delightful surprise when I inspected our new home. Before leaving Louisville, I had gone to a lot of trouble arranging for shipment of my washing machine, and I was mighty unhappy to learn it would take several months. It still hasn't arrived, but I no longer worry, for the basement laundry is one of the finest and most modern I've ever seen. With its electric dryer and ironer, in addition to the almost new washing machine, it certainly makes my back-porch washroom at home look primitive, and upholds the German tradition of cleanliness.³⁶²

Mrs. Berry and her family (spouse and two children) lived in a requisitioned nine-room furnished house with three servants – one full-time maid, a second part-time woman to do the laundry and a part-time gardener. The Army requisitioned the missing kitchen utensils, dishes, crystal and like items for the family. The house, along with several others in the neighborhood requisitioned by the U. S. Army survived somewhat intact the bombing campaigns that destroyed much of the Stadtteil Lankwitz. Lankwitz is located about equally between Dahlem, an elite neighborhood where the U. S Army Headquarters was located, and Templehof Airfield, where Mrs. Berry's husband worked. The family had no car with them, thus relying on Army transportation or Berlin's public transportation system to get to work and shop at either of Berlin's two commissaries. As Mrs. Berry felt uncomfortable returning home on the streetcar with her groceries, she usually resorted to the military-provided taxi service. "The trip back[on German public transportation] is no fun. Laden with bulky packages of meat, vegetables and

³⁶² Lelah Berry, "An Army Wife Lives Very Soft – in Germany," *Saturday Evening Post* 219, no. 33, (15 February 1947): 119.

clanking bottles of milk that always tower over the tops of the sacks; you are a fine target for bitter Germans. At such times, I have no doubt what they think of us. They hate us. . . . I keep wondering how this sort of occupation can teach them our brand of democracy.”³⁶³

Lelah Berry’s story probably reflects the average lifestyle for Army officer families living in Berlin in 1946-1947.

By 1948-1949, when the U. S. Army Quartermasters could provide repaired or newly constructed units for arriving families, temporary shortages of household furniture and appliances caused by temporarily housed Berlin Blockade personnel frustrated many a family. Army Quartermasters also discovered that local units had little recordkeeping to account for previously purchased or built furniture, and the occupation costs fund account could not accommodate massive purchases without cutting back on key construction projects. Army records for the period do not discuss solutions; surprising that the narratives even mention poor unit bookkeeping, begging the question of higher headquarters oversight, but this problem of property accountability – to include accountability for requisitions, plagued the U. S. Army headquarters from the beginning of the occupation. Relative to household furnishings, this problem no doubt led to the official authorization for command-sponsored families to ship controlled amounts of their personal household goods overseas with them.

4.2.3 Textbooks, teachers and the Dependents School System (DSS).

Establishing a school system for dependent children, although a necessity once the War Department approved family member travel to occupied Germany, surprisingly generated as much, if not more ruckus between the War Department and USFET over funding than requests for housing construction funds. USFET had initially requested \$4,000,000 to establish and support a school system serving 10,120 dependent children. The War Department initially

³⁶³ Ibid., 120, 25.

claimed that it could not legally fund a school system. Precedents, however, altered that argument somewhat. The War Department had argued back and forth for almost a century as to fiscal responsibility of the U. S. Government for military dependent children schooling, acknowledging by a Judge Advocate General (JAG) ruling in 1913 that school services for military children could not be separated out from military activities. The Secretary of War then decided to use recreation funds and post exchange profits to fund schools, an action supported by another JAG ruling in 1925 that validated the inappropriateness, if not illegality of using appropriated funds (funds budgeted through Congress to support military operations) for school costs. Finally, by May 1946, the two organizations reached at least a temporary agreement. USFET published General Order 132 establishing the Dependent Schools Service (DSS) under the command of Major Virgil R. Walker, assigning DSS to the Assistant Chief of Staff, G1, USFET Headquarters, in Frankfurt, Germany. By 1947, a Dependent Schools Detachment organized and by April 1948, reorganized as the Dependent Schools division under the supervision of an Army colonel. Finally, in the mid-1960s, the Air Force and Army dependent school systems merged under the Department of Defense Dependents Schools (DODDS) system, headed by a civilian educator releasing military commanders from the business of education.³⁶⁴ In most cases, military communities continued to provide transportation and other logistics support to the school system from military community G-4 assets.

Families incurred a small monthly fee: \$8 per month per child for officers, \$4 per month per child for E7, 8 and 9 families and no charge for the lower enlisted grades. Non-appropriated fund sources and Class VI stores, the largest donor at \$375,000, contributed to the school budget, thus avoiding the expenditure of appropriated funds to cover expenses.

³⁶⁴ Allen Dale Olson, "History of U. S. Department of Defense Dependent Schools" (PhD dissertation, George Washington University, 1972).

The Dependent School System (DSS), accredited through the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, opened for school in October 1946, the first school year running through June 1947. At that time, approximately 500 students attended one of the five high schools -- located in Berlin, Erlangen, Frankfurt, Heidelberg or Munich, or one of the forty-one elementary schools, that accepted up to 2,500 students; the approximate student-to-teacher ratio at 20:1. In that first year, 80 high schools students claimed graduation from a Germany-located high school. One hundred twenty teachers from thirty-four states came to Germany on one-year contracts to teach in the schools. Additionally most schools hired German language teachers, paid from occupation costs, and according to *Domestic Economy*, approximately 90% of the students attended German language classes.³⁶⁵ By 1949, the Dependent School System covered 102 schools: 37 kindergartens, 58 elementary schools and 7 high schools. The student population jumped from 4,844 in January 1949 to 7,622 by the end of December, with 1,209 students enrolled in kindergarten, 5,525 in elementary schools and 888 in the high schools, graduating 130 high school students in June 1949. At that time, seven high schools, all providing dormitory facilities during the week for the 240 or so far-away students existed, located in Berlin, Bremerhaven, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Wiesbaden, Nürnberg and München.

Also opening its doors in Germany, the University of Maryland offered a two-year program and ran its first semester from October to December 1949 with 1,800 enrolled students, mostly Army officers, at a student cost of \$32 per 4-credit course. Initially, the University operated out of six locations, rotating professors (and their courses) after each semester.

The U. S. Army also encouraged mental gymnastics for the servicemembers through its 119 educational centers and the United States Armed Forces Institute, offering a variety of

³⁶⁵ Office of the Chief Historian European Command, Occupation Forces in Europe Series, *Domestic Economy*.

courses, to include high school completion programs as well as technical and vocational training classes at no cost to the servicemember.

4.2.4 The Army Exchange Service and Sears & Roebuck: perfume, hosiery and diapers.

The various merchandising and service agencies – Army Exchanges, commissaries, bakeries -- in anticipation of the arrival of family members, planned initially to stock items and provide services similar to like items and services in stateside department stores and facilities, within the limits of space and population served. The largest of these agencies, the Army Exchange, planned for fifty-one stores within the U. S. occupation zone, Germany. Eight of these stores, classified as Type A, would serve larger communities and offer such items as furniture, clothing and automobiles. Type B and C-stores served smaller communities, carrying a smaller range of, and fewer items. The Army Exchange also had responsibility for filling stations that provided both gasoline and appropriate oil. The Army Exchange through the military community commanders issued fuel ration cards to qualified individuals.

Unlike the Army Exchange that dealt primarily with “dry goods,” commissaries provided food products, and like the Army Exchange, functioned under a modified ration system, based again on the limited supplies the system could ship in and stock. In both cases, rationing served as a tool to restrict black marketing. Generally, the Army Exchange Service and the commissary system rationed the following items: liquor, cigarettes, coffee, gasoline, candy, and soap.

Another type of exchange service flourished in occupied Germany – at least until the 1948 currency reform.

The Germans who were best off were those who could still lay their hands on jewellery, watches or cameras. Franz Sayn-Wittgenstein remembered selling a badly damaged piece of Meissen porcelain to a black-marketeer for a considerable

number of cigarettes. The piece was restored and sold to an American general's wife who kept it too close to the fire and the restored part promptly fell off.³⁶⁶

Known by various nicknames as the “cigarette economy,” or “cigarette currency,” the black market provided an opportunity for Germans to purchase necessities by bartering their valuables for cigarettes that in turn, used as currency, could purchase food items, coal or other necessities and for many Americans, military and civilian, to line their pockets. As Mark Wyman wrote, “Efforts to thwart the illegal trading made little headway on a Continent where millions were participating in it – most notably the occupying troops. High ranking Allied officers seeking vast riches were involved, as well as displaced persons trying to garner enough food for a satisfactory diet.”³⁶⁷ A temporary variation on the illegal black-market scene, the short-lived official, somewhat regulated and supervised bartering markets (in Berlin and Frankfurt) were sanctioned by the military government for about 18 months as a means for Germans to supplement their meager rations. Germans could trade valuables for necessities from Americans who had shipped desired items through the postal service for just this purpose. Selling or otherwise trading exchange or commissary items was (and is today) illegal. Once the currency reform was launched in June 1948, black markets faded, although continuing to operate, as products flooded the market. For the average German, even some initially expensive items cost less than risking illegal black market activities.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁶ Giles MacDonough, *After the Reich: the Brutal History of the Allied Occupation* (New York: Basic Books, 2007), 372. For some black humor but also a readable account of the black market, see Chapter 13, 372-380.

³⁶⁷ Wyman, *DPs: Europe's Displaced Persons, 1945-1951*, 116.

³⁶⁸ More reading on the black market: for Trends in German Public Opinion, in March 1948 and June 1949 timeframes, see: Anna J. Merritt and Richard L. Merritt, *Public Opinion in Occupied Germany: the OMGUS Surveys, 1945-1949* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970). For a traditional account, particularly if one understands the symbolism of Diogenes and his lantern, see Harold Zink, *The United States in Germany, 1944-1955* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. 1957), 138-140. For a short review from an economic standpoint, see: Kramer, *The West German Economy, 1945-1955*, 83-88. For commentary on the value of the black market, particularly for Americans early in the occupation, see: B. U. Ratchford and Wm. D. Ross, *Berlin Reparations Assignment* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 12-18. For an economic discussion, see: John E. Farquharson, *The Western Allies and the Politics of Food: Agrarian Management of Postwar Germany* (London: Berg Publishers Ltd., 1985), 200-242.

4.2.5 Leisure and Recreation.

EUCOM's Special Services Division offered virtually every imaginable leisure-time activity in support of EUCOM's program to improve the morale of service members and family members assigned to overseas duty. Leisure-time activities in the U. S. occupation zone varied widely depending on location. Naturally, the bigger the military community and the nearer to larger towns and cities, the more activities and recreational facilities developed.

Lelah Berry mentioned her family's ten-day tour of Switzerland arranged through the Army's Special Services Division. The \$140.25 bill included transportation, hotel and meals for the family of four. Martha Gravois mentioned another popular spot – Schloss Kronberg, about twenty kilometers outside Frankfurt-am-Main, requisitioned by American military authorities and converted into an officers' club, with an interesting history. *The Occupation Forces in Europe Series, Second Year, 1946-1947*, published the following table on tour prices offered through American Express (American Express contracted with the U. S. Army as early as 1947), noting that for the year ending 30 June 1947, 64,500 persons participated.

Country	Military Personnel	Civilians
Denmark	\$40.00	\$40.00
Switzerland	40.50	47.25
Switzerland-Rome	23.50	23.50
Holland, First Class rates	80.00	80.00
Paris	35.00	35.00
Riviera, First Class rates	58.50	58.50
United Kingdom	83.50	93.75
Czechoslovakia	43.00	43.00
Belgium-Luxembourg	80.50	80.50

The Stuttgart Military Post put out a memorandum to all its subordinate units in March 1947 notifying force members of the impending opening of an operational nine-hole golf course by June 1947. According to the memorandum, the golf course, located near the Stuttgart-Leonberg boundary, would also provide clubs and balls for golf enthusiasts who left their equipment back in the States.³⁶⁹ Sadly, this golf course reduced acreage that neighboring German residents had used as truck gardens to supplement their grocery bills. This golf course, predecessor of today's Golf Club Neckar eV., served U. S. military forces and families for more than 50 years. Several other communities, particularly those hosting senior leader commands -- Heidelberg, Garmisch -- followed suit, offering golf courses to the military community.

Activities and services managed through the Special Services Division increased over the occupation period for the geographical area supported by the Special Services Division. Generally, the Special Services offices throughout the U. S. occupation zone had responsibility for athletics to include competitive sports, live entertainment (USO and other organizational shows, service clubs), recreation (crafts, maintenance and handcraft shops, libraries and operation of the rest and recreation centers), morale and welfare activities (trips and tours), and the Army Exchange Service. Although the USO discontinued its soldiers' shows in 1947, Special Services contracted for fifteen Allied forces-sponsored shows, forty-eight German group plays and musical productions and eleven Allied forces bands in Fiscal Year 1946-1947. Further, as of July 1946, Special Services organized and maintained forty-nine service clubs with lounges, game rooms, music studios and photography darkrooms, ballrooms, snack bars, as well as ten rest centers.

³⁶⁹ Memorandum from Headquarters, Stuttgart Military Post, Subject: Community Golf Course, dated 25 March 1947. Baden-Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv, OMGUS Files, Fiche 12-222-1/5.

Alone, the opportunity to travel inexpensively to most of Europe, supported by U. S. Army facilities in many locations, proved a valuable incentive to volunteer for duty in Germany. Although the number of rest centers dropped to three by July 1947, reflecting the diminished military population, the three remaining centers – Berchtesgaden, Chiemsee and Garmisch – rivaled any recreation center in the United States. Many of the recreational areas provided world-class facilities -- each center featured hotels, clubs, snack bars, theaters and motion picture halls, as well as locale-specific activities. Garmisch, the host of the 1936 Winter Olympics, hardly touched by the war, offered every kind of imaginable winter activity, particularly unparalleled downhill and cross-country skiing and ice skating and year-round picture-perfect scenery. Berchtesgaden, home of Hitler's famous retreat, the Eagle's Nest, drew thousands curious for an impression of the man who had brought them to Germany in the first place. The Lake Hotel Resort, right on the shores of the Chiemsee offered a beautiful other-worldly retreat, especially for those who loved the outdoors, beautiful water and mountain scenes and old castles. The U. S. Army requisitioned many of the facilities, providing equipment to service and family members at little to no cost. From any of these locations, soldiers and their families could jump off to other parts of southern Europe. Austria was only a few kilometers away from Garmisch and Berchtesgaden.

For those families and service members preferring to stay closer to "home," soldier shows and cultural activities, performed or hosted by both Allied forces patronage and German companies, offered entertainment most likely not common back home. Almost every military community operated movie theaters, 16 and 35 mm films, and until July 1946, these shows were free. Beginning in July 1946, Special Service initiated paid admission at 15 cents for military and family members, and 30 cents for civilians. By March 1947, admission jumped to 20 cents

for the military and family members and 15 cents for minors under 14 years of age. Further, after arrival of family members and by July 1946, military communities boasted fifty-nine handcraft shops with average weekly participation of over 30,000 (men, women and children), and according to the Second Year annual report, by October 1946, the number of shops had doubled. This program was so popular that the Special Services Division organized training schools for craft shop supervisors and teachers. Craft manuals and training guides soon followed. Initially, craft shops received supplies shipped from the U. S., surplus Army material and “captured enemy material.”³⁷⁰

Certainly not the final activity available for service members and families, but an important one in the days before television, libraries sprouted up throughout the occupation zone. Touting by July 1946, 296 permanent facilities scattered over the zone, in schools, clubs, military dayrooms, hotels, hospitals, as well as 36 bookmobiles to get to those families not close enough to seek out the libraries on a regular basis. By July 1946, the library system catalogued over 546,000 volumes, and expected to increase these resources during the third year of occupation by approximately \$695,000, adding more magazine, newspaper and book titles.³⁷¹

As with the recreational activities, athletics appealed to participant and spectator alike. The USFET Theater Chief of Support Services for the Fiscal Year 1946-1947, reported USFET organized competitions at Theater, inter-Theater and Allied levels in “archery, badminton, baseball, basketball, bobsledding, boxing, cross country running, diving, fencing, football, golf, handball, horseshoes, ice hockey, skating, skiing, shooting, soccer, softball, swimming, table tennis, track and field events, tennis, volleyball, water polo and wrestling.” Most noteworthy according to the reports, the U. S. Army hosted an international track and field meet in

³⁷⁰ U. S. Army in Europe, Historical Division, *Occupation Forces in Europe Series, The Second Year of the Occupation, 1946-1947* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1947), 137.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 138.

September 1946, at the Olympic Stadium in Spandau (British Sector, Berlin), inviting teams from Great Britain, Denmark, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, Luxembourg, Czechoslovakia and the U. S., garnering over 90,000 spectators.³⁷² The variety of athletic opportunities available to service-and family members at minimum, if any cost, overmatched most communities “back home.”³⁷³ Moreover, U. S. military forces and their family members more than likely appreciated considerably more activities and support than they might have had in an equivalent geographical area in the United States. Many of the recreational services and sports programs offered are listed at Appendix VI.4.2.5.

5. Summary. Long-term impact of communities on the logistics support system.

Doubtless, few leaders in Washington or in Germany considered the long-term potential of the U. S. Army infrastructure in Germany as the U. S. military government turned over its occupation mission to the High Commission for Occupied Germany (HICOG), serving from the mid-summer 1949 to 5 May 1955. “We are in this occupation business for the long haul” had long since replaced the euphoria of military victory with the U. S. Army loggies no closer to completing their mission. The short one or two year military occupation stretched to four years; General Clay had announced in 1948 that no date had been set to end the occupation; in particular, the military-run occupation. Although the High Commission for Occupied Germany (HICOG), serving from mid-summer 1949 to 5 May 1955 took over the occupation mission, albeit considerably reduced, the military forces remained, as the U. S. High Commission, a civilian organization composed primarily of U. S. State Department employees, possessed no organic logistics capability.

³⁷² Ibid., 131.

³⁷³ Historical Division, European Command, Occupation Forces in Europe Series, 1949, *Annual Narrative Report, 1 January-31 December 1949*, 413.

Amidst the chaos of war destruction in Germany, the overriding concern of the Americans and British to finish the war in the Pacific Theater, to redeploy U. S. forces out of Europe, to repatriate and settle displaced and refugee populations, and to establish a functional military government – each issue brought with it a host of logistics problems. A military force designed to either fight or train to fight became a peacekeeping custodial type of organization. Official efforts designed to engage off-duty servicemembers – sports, and other leisure activities, education, travel – improved life for the servicemembers, but failed initially to create the American setting in the U. S. occupation zone desired by military leaders.

Venereal disease rates skyrocketed initially, as did crime rates, and service members went on strike (January 1946) over their perceived slow return to the States and civilian life. The Command tried harder to improve the morale and the community setting. Concerned leaders suggested that allowing family members to join their spouses assigned for occupation duty in Europe, under certain conditions, might alleviate a number of the problems noted above and help to create a more American feeling within the military community. Furthermore, as replacements, although considerably fewer in number than during the war, continued to flow into Germany to serve as part of the occupation force, adopting such a policy might also enhance overseas service, resulting in service members volunteering for occupation duty. The situation did improve gradually. The Displaced Persons mission faded as repatriation and resettlement actions whittled away at the numbers living in the assembly centers, so that by 1950 German authorities accepted the Displaced Persons mission. Military communities consolidated and expanded within their boundaries. Training areas, particularly Grafenwöhr, Hohenfels and Vilseck engaged the ingenuity of Army Engineers in upgrading the facilities to accommodate larger than

company-size units in complex combined arms exercises, and soldiers went back to training in the skills innate in any military force poised for the next call to serve their country.

Chapter V

Logistics, the Bridge to Cultural Exchange: Bratwurst vs. Burger

Introduction.

In the early days after German capitulation, American military forces' exposure to Germans resulted in more penicillin injected than bratwursts ingested. Meat and other commodities common to the American soldiers were scarce among most Germans at this time. Venereal disease was not. American commodities, however, provided early post-war cultural exchange opportunities for both soldiers and Germans. Food, cigarettes, even a cover over one's head enticed some Germans to barter their possessions – and for some women, even their bodies – for these commodities.³⁷⁴ One could have argued at the time as to whether warriors or prostitutes “own” the oldest profession. However, indisputable to both is the underlying requirement for logistics support. Ironically, even issues of prostitution, often resulting after-effects of venereal disease, and official occupation policies regarding these matters necessitated comprehensive logistics support. Virtually every effort on the part of the U. S. occupation force in Germany after World War II in support of its mission, and even simply its presence in Germany required comprehensive logistics support -- from medical, food, housing, to even provision of recreational opportunities.

This chapter focuses on selected German socio-cultural traditions and practices impacted by the imposition of an occupation force on a militarily defeated nation. Furthermore, because this narrative argues that logistics underlay the occupation effort, the challenge forces one to forge the link between logistics support by the U. S. occupation force and cultural exchange between Americans and Germans. As already noted, social issues such as prostitution and venereal disease fit in this discussion, albeit more indirectly. The policies and efforts directed

³⁷⁴ Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany*.

toward German school reform, the German Youth Activities (GYA) and the establishment of *Amerikahäuser* spotlighted the U. S. military government's reorientation efforts. Moreover, this intervention in reorienting German culture from its "militant and authoritarian past"³⁷⁵ toward a democratic system formed perhaps the most important foundation for American cultural policy during the occupation years. The most promising weapons for democratization – school, youth sports and activities, and libraries and learning centers -- targeted the younger generations. Furthermore, in this arena, U. S. Army logistics initiated and forged a growing German-American relationship. What began under the rubric of military orders, control and supervision, morphed into engagement, advice, and eventually partnership. U. S Army logistics in one way or another, often transparently, provided the highways and by-ways from occupation to partnership.

Comprised of six sections, the first and second sections introduce key U. S. post-World War II democratization and reeducation policies and their application toward the Germans. The third section focuses on U. S. military government attempts to reform the German school system in the U. S. Zone of Occupation and sector in Berlin. The fourth and fifth sections discuss two aspects of the cultural activities aimed at reeducation: *Amerikahäuser* and the German Youth Activities, which U. S. Army personnel engaged in generally in fulfillment of their official duties as planners, advisers and supervisors. The sixth section comments on the impact, particularly logistical, of official democratization and reeducation policies on German society, based on school reform attempts, *Amerikahäuser* and the GYA. The final section summarizes the chapter.

³⁷⁵ I have placed this phrase in quotes, not because I accept this interpretation of German history, rather, because many of the primary sources use this terminology to define their understanding of German history. "Militant and authoritarian" therefore became the counter-point of their mission to reeducate and democratize the Germans.

1. U. S. Post-War Democratization and Reeducation/Reorientation Policy.

The U. S. Government's initial German occupation policy matured as World War II progressed, from Morgenthau's pastoralization concept to Truman's reorientation and democratization concepts, with "the principal objective that Germany never again will threaten her neighbors or the peace of the world. . . . The German people [should] be given the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic and peaceful basis, and for eventual peaceful participation in international life by Germany."³⁷⁶ Initially formed in the framework of the British, Soviet, American wartime alliance, occupation policy evolved with the political situation and realities on the ground even as the official military government phase ended in 1949.

The Protocol of Proceedings of the Crimea Conference (Yalta), 4-11 February 1945, focused on organization of the embryonic United Nations, political-geographic dimensions of post-war Europe, reconstruction of the liberated countries, French involvement in occupied Germany and in cursory fashion reparation issues. The Potsdam Protocol,³⁷⁷ casually referred to as the demilitarization, denazification, decartelization, and democratization (4 Ds) document,³⁷⁸ refined the political, cultural and economic principles governing the treatment of Germany by the occupying powers in the initial occupation period.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁶ Headquarters United States Forces, European Theater, Office of Military Government (U. S. Zone), *Military Government Regulation*, Title 1, General Provisions, Part 3, Section A, Objectives of Military Government, paragraphs 1-301 and 1-305 (Frankfurt, GE: Headquarters, USFET, 30 November 45).

³⁷⁷ Officially, Protocol of the (Potsdam) Berlin Conference, 17 July – 2 Aug 1945.

³⁷⁸ U. S. Congress, U. S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, (New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1961), Section II, pp. 31-34 spells out the 4Ds. These terms are not arbitrary, i.e., decentralization is often used in place of decartelization or deindustrialization.

³⁷⁹ For brief synopses of the Potsdam Protocol: Michael Balfour, *Vier-Mächte Kontrolle in Deutschland 1945-1946* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1959), Chapter 5. Marc Trachtenberg, *A Constructed Peace: the Making of the European Settlement 1945-1963* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 15-47. For a blow-by-blow description on the conference, see Charles L. Mee Jr., *Meeting at Potsdam* (New York: M. Evans & Company, Inc., 1975).

The U. S. War Department published the “Directive to Commander-in-Chief of United States Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany, April 1945 (Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) 1067),” issuing guidance to its senior post-war commander in Germany, General Eisenhower. Although not officially published until October 1945, the U. S. War Department drafted and fielded versions of JCS 1067 at least a year in advance of the Potsdam Conference. The directive, apparently a model for the U. S. input to the Potsdam Protocol, deferred to the Potsdam Protocol where Protocol policy differed, but in the absence of specific guidance covered by the Potsdam Protocol, JCS 1067 represented the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff guidance to General Eisenhower in the initial post-war period.

Specifically for the discussion of cultural impact, both the Potsdam Protocol and JCS 1067 prescribed the key purpose of the occupation of Germany as “to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis and for eventual peaceful cooperation in international life by Germany.”³⁸⁰ Moreover, “German education shall be so controlled as completely to eliminate Nazi and militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas.”³⁸¹ Further, “The judicial system will be reorganized in accordance with the principles of democracy, or justice under law and of equal rights for all citizens without distinction of race, nationality or religion.”³⁸² Finally, “Subject to the necessity for maintaining military security, freedom of speech, press and religion shall be permitted, and religious institutions shall be respected. Subject likewise to the maintenance of military security, the formation of free trade unions shall be permitted.”³⁸³ In sum, U. S. senior

³⁸⁰ U. S. Congress, U. S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, *Documents on Germany, 1944-1961* (New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1961), Paragraph 3 (iv), p. 31.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Paragraph 7, p. 32.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, Paragraph 8, p. 32.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, Paragraph 10, p. 32.

policy makers targeted the German education and justice systems as critical elements to reorient and reconstruct post-war Germany into an image of a democratic and peaceful nation.

Additionally, and pertinent to a discussion of the impact of U. S. Forces on German cultural activities, JCS 1067 issued the following guidance to the Commander-in-Chief of United States Forces of Occupation in Germany:³⁸⁴

(Part I, 4b) Strongly discourage fraternization with the German officials and population.

(Part I, 9d) Permit freedom of speech, press and religious worship, consistent with military necessity.

(Part I, 10) Obtain agreement at the Allied Control Council for uniform or coordinated policies for (a) control of public information media in Germany, (b) accreditation of foreign correspondents, (c) press censorship, and (d) issuance of official news communiqués dealing with Control Council matters.

(Part I, 14a-d) (a) Close all educational institutions within the U. S. Zone except those previously re-established by Allied authority. The closure of Nazi educational institutions such as *Adolf Hitler Schulen*, *Napolas* and *Ordensburgen* and of Nazi organizations within other educational institutions will be permanent. (b) Establish a coordinated system of control over German education and an affirmative program of reorientation designed to eliminate Nazi and militaristic doctrines and to encourage the development of democratic ideals. (c) Permit the reopening of elementary (*Volksschulen*), middle (*Mittelschulen*) and vocational (*Berufsschulen*) schools at the earliest possible date after Nazi personnel have been eliminated. Use in the classroom only textbooks and curricula free of Nazi and militaristic doctrine. Under further guidance from the Allied Control Council, devise programs looking toward the reopening of secondary schools, universities and other institutions of higher learning. Design and implement an interim education program, reopen institutions and departments offering training immediately essential or useful in the administration of military government and the purposes of the occupation. (d) The military government should not intervene in questions concerning denominational control of German schools, or in religious instruction in German schools, except insofar as may be necessary to insure that religious instruction and administration of such schools conform to such Allied regulations as are or may be established pertaining to purging of personnel and curricula.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁴ The following is the author's summary from the original text. U. S. Department of State, *Germany 1947-1949, The Story in Documents*, "Directive to Commander-in-Chief of United States Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany (JCS 1067)" (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, January 1, 1968), 21-33.

³⁸⁵ Members of the Allied Control Commission never agreed on the specifics for a uniform education policy. Each zone went its own way on the issue of reorienting the German school systems in the *Länder* within its zone. For the most part, both the British and French did not interfere with the established German school structure within their occupation zones; however, both the Americans and the Russians did. Only the Russians succeeded in restructuring

The Directive to Commander in Chief of United States Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany (Joint Chiefs of Staff 1779), 11 July 1947, in contrast to JCS 1067 softens the scope of the JCS 1067, which it superseded. First, the anti-fraternization policy, officially rescinded in October 1945, in effect, became a fraternization policy to some degree to achieve the results of the restated official policy of JCS 1779. Specifically, JCS 1779, Part VI, addresses the U. S. reorientation program under several headings.³⁸⁶

(Section 22, Cultural Objectives) Reeducation of the German people is an integral part in development of a democratic form of government and restoration of a stable and peaceful economy. Secure coordinated occupying power reconstruction efforts to maintain the cultural unity of Germany while recognizing regional traditions and the Germans' wishes to retain these traditions. Encourage German initiative and responsible participation in Germany's cultural reconstruction. Expedite establishment of international cultural relations to overcome the spiritual isolation of the Nazi era.

(Section 23, Education) (a) As education is the primary means to create a democratic Germany, encourage and assist the development of educational methods, institutions, programs and materials that further create democratic attitudes and practices. Require the German Länder authorities to develop an education system with educational programs offering equal opportunity to all students according to their qualifications. (b) Eliminate all National Socialist, militaristic and aggressively nationalist teaching, practices and influences from the German educational system.

(Section 26, Public Information) (a) Supervise, encourage, and assist the Germans in development of media and public information programs that support the political and cultural objectives of this Directive. (b) Implement free exchange of information and democratic ideas by all media in Germany (IAW 23 April 1947 decision of the Council of Foreign Ministers). (c) Develop and maintain media and information programs (both German and military government-sponsored) to further the objectives of the U. S. Government.

the school system in their zone. At least theoretically, the *Kommandatura* regulated education in Berlin. A solid source for comparative discussions on the four military governments' efforts toward reforming the German school system, see Manfred Heinemann, ed., *Umerziehung und Wiederaufbau: Die Bildungspolitik der Besatzungsmächte in Deutschland und Österreich* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1981). For educational reconstruction in the British Zone, see: Arthur Hearndon, ed., *The British in Germany: Educational Reconstruction after 1945* (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd., 1978). For a similar source on the American reeducation efforts in the U. S. Zone, see: James F. Tent, *Mission on the Rhine: Reeducation and Denazification in American-Occupied Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

³⁸⁶ The section footnoted is the author's summary from the original text. U. S. Department of State. *Germany 1947-1949, The Story in Documents*, "Directive to Commander-in-Chief of United States Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany (JCS 1779)," 34-41.

The Office of Military Government for Germany, United States (OMGUS) inserted itself into the process of democratization and school reform through official studies, particularly the team of professional educators headed by George F. Zook, in August 1946, followed by a decree from the U. S. Deputy Military Governor, General Clay, issued to the *Länder*-level ERADs in January 1947. Publication of the Allied Control Authority Directive No. 54, “Basic Principles for Democratization of Education in Germany,” that codified official OMGUS policies on school reform, followed in June 1947.

Relative to reorientation through the Public Information program, OMGUS-Württemberg-Baden, for example, issued Memorandum Number 13, 10 March 1948,³⁸⁷ “Reorientation Program,” almost three years after German capitulation, establishing a Reorientation Committee to guide implementation of reorientation objectives. One must wonder why it took these staffs three years to engage in official guidance for what was considered a critical program in democratizing Germans. These objectives, taking the lighter note of JCS 1779 (July 1947), that slowly lumbered along after Secretary of State James F. Byrnes’ Stuttgart address on 6 September 1946, focused on development of basic democratic rights and procedures within the German government and public institutions.³⁸⁸ The Information Control, Education and Religious Affairs, and the Civil Administration divisions received the majority of taskings aimed in various ways at establishment of democratic reform of German institutions. The Reorientation Program detailed in Memorandum Number 13 – the follow-on to the earlier Re-education Program, traces its military lineage back to the Potsdam Protocol, Military

³⁸⁷ OMGUS-WB Memorandum Number 13, Reorientation Program dated 10 Mar 1948. Baden- Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart. OMGUS Microfiche 12/94-3/4.

³⁸⁸ Henry J. Kellermann, *Cultural Relations as an Instrument of U. S. Foreign Policy. The Educational Exchange Program Between the United States and Germany 1945-1954* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1978). George F. Zook, *Japan and Germany: Problems in Reeducation* (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1946).

Government Regulations, Titles 1, 8, 21 and 23, and JCS 1779, specifically, Sections 22, 23 and 26.³⁸⁹ Numerous professional educators – some members of the OMGUS Headquarters and others at the *Länder* Civil Affairs detachments, with assistance from visiting educational specialists, cobbled together the voluminous Military Government Regulations covering the education and religious affairs policies. General Robert A. McClure, General Eisenhower’s SHAEF Psychological Warfare Division Chief, and after the war the Chief of the OMGUS Information Control Division, with his staff, oversaw principally the democratization program, developing policies, particularly in the media arena, and overseeing German compliance with licensing and programming policies established by the military occupation authorities.

Creating democracy for Germany, even with German assistance, cost both the U. S. government and the German people. Resource-intensive in terms of personnel, funds, time, and the more traditional logistics support, the projects and programs planned, coordinated, implemented, and subsequently monitored, focused on “reorientation of the German cultural pattern.” The buffet of ideas to reorient the German population, presented by the OMGUS-WB in their Memorandum 13, Reorientation Program, dated 10 March 1948, kept staffs in the OMGUS, WB-ERAD, ICD/ISD and Civil Administration divisions busy. Appendix V.2 displays a sample of projects undertaken.

Documenting German participation is possible in many cases. Measuring and evaluating German response, however, was not easy, and even surveys such as the Merritts’ analyses of the

³⁸⁹ MGR Title 1, General Provisions, Part 3 – Objectives and Principles of Military Government (30 Nov 45); Title 4, Civil Administration, Part 1 – General Objectives (12 May 47); Title 8, Education and Religious Affairs, Parts 1 – General; Part 4 – Teaching Materials, Curricula, Supervision; and Part 7 – Youth and Recreational Activities (14 Mar 47); Title 21, Information Control (16 Apr 47); Title 23, Military Government Legislation (from the basic authority of the Allied Control Council), Directive on U. S. Objectives and Basic Policies in Germany, (15 July 1947).

OMGUS Surveys, represent only a snapshot in time and place. How palatable were these programs to the German public?

2. From Policy to Execution of Democratization and Reeducation.

The authors of the Potsdam Protocol devoted particular attention to democratization and denazification. Although democratize morphed over time to other terms, e.g., re-education, reconstruction, reform, and finally reorientation, as noted by Alonzo Grace,³⁹⁰ reeducation and reorientation of the German people remained an extremely high priority of the U. S. military government in Germany. Policymakers in the U. S. military government decreed that education would be the vehicle of choice to drive toward the goal of democratization. Two agencies shared the driver's seat: Information Control (ICD)/Information Services Division (ISD) and the Education and Religious Affairs Division (ERAD)/Education and Cultural Relations Division (ECRD).

Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) 1067 guidance initially underlay the missions of the Information Control and the Education and Religious Affairs divisions at the OMGUS Headquarters in Berlin, as well as in each of the *Länder* military government offices in the U. S. occupation zone. These two divisions – ICD/ICS and ERAD/ECRD - would denazify and democratize Germany – or, at least attempt to do so – in the U. S. occupation zone until 21 September 1949.

2.1 Mission of the Information Control/Information Services Division (ICD/ISD).

The Information Control/Information Services Division (ICD/ISD) under the U. S. military government's interpretation of the Potsdam Protocol, inserted itself in virtually every German activity related to cultural endeavors – literature, newspapers, professional journals and

³⁹⁰ Alonzo Grace, Armed Forces Network Radio Program script on the "Role of the American School System," undated, but given in the summer, 1949. *Baden-Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv*, OMGUS Fiche 12/94-3/1.

magazines, radio, film and theater – to cite the most prevalent activities.³⁹¹ As stated in Military Government Regulations (MGR), Title 21, early during the occupation, ICD's mission in support of U. S. military government objectives, was to further the objectives of the U.S. military government. Indeed, ICD's mission supported U. S. Government policy! The ICD objectives stated under MGR Title 1, General Provisions, followed the Potsdam Protocol and JCS 1067 intent:

Assure that Germany never again will threaten her neighbors or the peace of the world; eliminate German militarism and Nazism; completely disarm and demilitarize Germany and eliminating or controlling all German industry that could be used for military production; punish and/or remove from office Nazi leaders, war criminals, influential supporters and high officials of Nazi organizations; convince the Germans that they have suffered total military defeat, are responsible for the results of that defeat (infrastructure destruction, chaos, suffering), but will have the opportunity to prepare for eventual reconstruction of political life on a democratic and peaceful basis, and eventual participation in international life; enforce the programs of reparations, restitution; insure that prisoners of war and Displaced Persons are cared for and repatriated.³⁹²

These stated objectives had been modified considerably in preparation for release of JCS 1779 in July 1947. U. S. military government acknowledged in Change 3 to MGR Title 21, that the German *Länder* constitutions, approved by the *Länder* and the U. S military government, granted “free access to public information, freedom of expression and free exchange of opinions and ideas throughout Germany and between other countries and Germany.”³⁹³ However, “because of quadripartite agreements, shortages of materials, U. S. reorientation policy, and the requirements of military security, Military Government must assume responsibility for certain

³⁹¹ The scope of ICD did not include post, telegraph and telephone or messages carried through these media.

³⁹² The section noted is the author's summary from the original text. Headquarters United States Forces, European Theater, Office of Military Government (U. S. Zone), *Military Government Regulation*, Title 1, General Provisions; Part 3, Section A, Objectives of Military Government, paragraph 1-300 and 1-306 (Frankfurt, GE: Headquarters, USFET (30 November 45).

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, Title 21, Information Control, Section B, Mission and Functions, paragraph 21-120 (Berlin: Office of Military Government for Germany United States (16 April 47).

controls.”³⁹⁴ Whatever restrictions remained at this point would be “gradually relaxed as the conditions which now necessitate them can be obviated through quadripartite progress and economic revival.”³⁹⁵ Karl Bungenstab offered a softer version of ICD’s mission: “provide the Germans with information which will influence them to understand and accept the United States program of occupation, and to establish for themselves a stable, peaceful and acceptable government.”³⁹⁶ Nonetheless, the ICD mission included media censorship, licensing of publishers and other media, blacklisting authors cultivating pro-Nazi positions or prone to criticize occupation government, monitoring, supervising, and advising on literature, press, film and the theater productions during the occupation, and establishment and support of other vehicles of communication, e.g., the *Amerikahäuser* and Radio in the American Sector (RIAS).

2.2. Mission of the Education and Religious Affairs Division (ERAD).

The Education and Religious Affairs Division managed the relationship of U. S. military government in the U. S. zone for policies and supervision over “all types of public and privately controlled German schools, youth, sport and physical training activity, libraries, adult education and sport activities; all church and religious groups and religious societies in Germany and all other formal educational or religious matters which involved the accomplishments of the objectives of U. S. Military Government in Germany.”³⁹⁷

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ As quoted in Karl-Ernst Bungenstab, “*Entstehung, Bedeutungs- und Funktionswandel der Amerika-Häuser. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der amerikanischen Auslandsinformation nach dem 2. Weltkrieg.*” *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* Band 16 (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, 1971), 194. Bungenstab, a Fulbright scholar at the University of Kansas, 1965-66, wrote his dissertation, *Amerikanische Umerziehungspolitik in Deutschland nach 1945*, from research during his Fulbright term. For a detailed study of the influence of American culture politics on German culture and particularly literature during the occupation period, see Hansjörg Gehring, *Amerikanische Literaturpolitik in Deutschland 1945-1953, ein Aspekt des Re-education-Programms*, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1976).

³⁹⁷ Baden-Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv. OMGUS Microfiche, 12/87-2/2, with no date, but presumably 1945, from the content of the file. Additionally, Headquarters United States Forces European Theater, Office of Military Government (U. S. Zone), *Military Government Regulation*, Title 8, Education and Religious Affairs, paragraph 8-1

When examined with care, confusion existed within the 1945 Military Regulation Title 8. First, paragraph 8-101 allowed, “the reform of German education will be left to the Germans themselves, subject to the supervision and approval of the Directors of Regional offices of Military Government, through their Education Officers.”³⁹⁸ Several paragraphs later, 8-120, the same Directors, through their education officers, “will have the responsibility of exercising direction and control of German educational institutions.” This seemingly contradictory section erupted into major controversy between the German *Kultusministerien* and the regional ERAD offices, jeopardizing, or so a number of ERAD officers asserted, success of the ERAD re-education mission. Amidst the confusion, OMGUS laid out its official policy in January 1947, in anticipation of the Allied Control Authority Directive No. 54, released in June 1947. MGR Title 8, Change 3 dated 3 March 1947, followed on the heels of the OMGUS decree, and clearly designated ERAD as having the “responsibility of exercising direction and control of German educational systems and institutions in the U. S. Zone,”³⁹⁹ with the caveat that responsibility for the operation and functioning of German schools lay with German education officials.⁴⁰⁰ Had this clarity been apparent earlier in the occupation, German school structure might appear differently today in the *Länder* of the U. S. occupation zone.

Unlike the Information Control element of military government, the democratization of education in Germany warranted its own directive. Specifically, in the realm of education and school reform, Allied Control Authority Directive Number 54⁴⁰¹ dictated democratization of

(Frankfurt, GE: Headquarters, USFET, 30 Nov 45), para 8-1, spells out in more detail the scope of ERAD’s mission.

³⁹⁸ Headquarters United States Forces European Theater, Office of Military Government (U. S. Zone), Military Government Regulation, Title 8, Education and Religious Affairs (Frankfurt, GE: Headquarters, USFET, 30 Nov 45).

³⁹⁹ Ibid., Title 8, Part 2, Section A, paragraphs 8-200 and 8-201, 14 March 1947.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Allied Control Authority Germany, Directive No. 54, “Basic Principles for Democratization of Education in Germany” (25 June 1947). *Enactments and Approved Papers*, Volume 7 (April-June 1947), 153-154. Library of

education policies for occupied Germany. Vaughn R. DeLong summed up these policies in ten points:

1. Equal education opportunities for all.
2. Tuition-free public schools, school texts and material.
3. Compulsory full-time attendance between 6 and 15 years of age; part-time between 16-18 years of age.
4. Comprehensive education system for all in which “secondary” education is a consecutive level, abolishing the two-track system.
5. School organization and curriculum to emphasize civic responsibility and a democratic way of life.
6. School curriculums to promote international good will and understanding.
7. Educational, vocational guidance within the school system.
8. Health education provided in the schools, to include health supervision.
9. All teacher education at the university level.
10. School reform, organization and administration through involvement of the citizens in the community.⁴⁰²

Generally, the internal organization of the ERAD included four branches: Elementary & Secondary Schools; Higher Institutions of Learning & Technical Training; Religious Affairs; Youth Activities, and a fifth branch added in 1946, Adult Education and Public Libraries. Under the re-designation of ERAD to Education and Cultural Affairs Division (ECAD) in 1948, the branches reorganized as Education, Universities, Cultural Exchange, Religious Affairs, Group Activities, and in August 1948, added a new branch, Theater and Music Control. The persistent objective holding the division together centered on democratization, education and eventually, reorientation of the German people.

2.3 Logistics Implications for ICD, ERAD and CAD.

ICD and ERAD directorates and staff organizations under military government agencies at the *Länder* level, subordinate to OMGUS Headquarters operationally, relied on the combat

Congress Call Number KK9.2.G47. Also available through: www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/enactments-home.html

⁴⁰² Vaughn R. DeLong. (Deputy Director, Education and Cultural Affairs, OMG, Land Hesse, Wiesbaden, Germany, later the Chief of Program Development Staff, and the International Education Exchange Staff at the U. S. Department of State), “School Reform in Land Hesse,” *American School Board Journal* 117, (October 1948): 40. Also summarized in Robert J. Havighurst, “German Schools in 1947,” *The Elementary School Journal* 48, no.8. (Apr 1948): 421-422.

and related support units for much of their logistic support as staff organizations rarely have organic support. The ERAD offices were generally staffed with between 25-30 personnel, if fully manned and funded. The detachments, whose personnel were responsible for the daily contact with local German officials, rarely had more than five or six persons engaged in liaison activities.⁴⁰³ Staffing and equipment shortages chronically hampered operations, as MAJ Richard Banks, Deputy Director, OMGUS-Württemberg-Baden ERAD, noted:

This division obviously needs more American personnel to carry out the projects. We realize that the securing of additional American personnel is difficult; but there are many things which could be done here in our own headquarters to improve the situation. Although this division has not been cut in American personnel, it received the same 25% cut in indigenous personnel that every other division received. Automobiles assigned to this division have been cut from 10 to 5. This serves to reduce the effectiveness of the American personnel of this division another 50%. For example, the Youth Activities Branch has three Americans who are normally in the field about 50 hours a week each. They will now have one Volkswagen (available four days a week at most) for the entire branch. Exactly the same situation holds for Schools Branch. Higher Institutions Branch will have no car at all and weekly travel to and from Heidelberg and to and from Karlsruhe must be done by train.⁴⁰⁴

MAJ Banks' critique of his division's personnel cuts, especially the indigenous personnel, challenges the validity of the intent of the U. S. Government and its agent, OMGUS, to reeducation and [re]create a democratic and peace-loving Germany. Because of the ERAD/ECAD's constant engagement with German agencies, the German employees were the critical connection between the German systems, its agencies, and the U. S. military organizations, even aside from the bridge they provided linguistically. Of all the American agencies under military government, it seems odd that the one agency working on a daily basis

⁴⁰³ Historical Division European Command, *Military Government in Munich 1945-1947*, (Special Study Series Catalog Number 58, October 1951), 6-7.

Memorandum from Company G, Third Military Government Regiment, *Regierungsbezirk* Schwaben, dated 29 October 1946 to All Liaison and Security Officers. Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum, B. File.

⁴⁰⁴ OMGUS-WB, First Military Government Battalion (Sep) Memorandum, "Reorientation" dated 21 October 1947, and 10 March 1948, OMGUS Microfiche 12/9-3/4 and 12/94-3/4, Baden-Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart.

with German agencies would cut German staff positions. MAJ Banks made a similar plea, to naught, for additional personnel and equipment six months later. It seems that the budget process in Washington drove ideology.

Ferretting out logistics support involved in these staff operations, missions and supported functions often goes unnoticed; likewise the constant contact with German employees as well as elements of the German population. For example, the ERAD staff in Württemberg-Baden set up and operated Curriculum and Textbook Revision Centers for German educators, in cooperation with ICD, in Karlsruhe and Stuttgart (about 80 kilometers or two hours travel time between the two in the late 1940s). By 1947, the ERAD staff planned to consolidate these operations with the ICD-operated *Ameikahäuser*, to expand their services to the German public. This expansion allowed greater opportunity to host discussion groups between American specialists and various professional Germans, or just town-hall type discussions between Americans and German residents.

Other activities established under this ICD-ERAD marriage included: motion picture programs requiring both film projectors and film, orientation of students proceeding to foreign countries as part of the newly allowed exchange programs, publication of a monthly *News Digest* for teachers, and establishment of a publishers' and writers' reference service. Additionally, the ERAD staff arranged with U. S. Army organizations stateside to have 1,500,000 educational manuals shipped to Württemberg-Baden, where ERAD arranged with local Army units to distribute these manuals to the German schools. Through German translators employed by ERAD, international news, education manuals and articles were translated and distributed to schools, church organizations, businesses and licensed publishers.

ERAD, ICD and CAD conducted seminars and discussions, in conjunction with ICD and *Landrat* and local German administrators, focused on a wide range of topics to include differences between political organizations and institutions, school reform issues, technological and agricultural innovations and also the more mundane subjects such as distribution of food, allocation of construction material, or local administration policies.⁴⁰⁵ CAD and ERAD catalogued a number of these seminars in the following chart.⁴⁰⁶

Date	Locations of Seminars	Attendance
24 Sep 47	Karlsruhe, Aalen, Ulm	15, 45, 50
30 Sep 47	Vaihingen/Enz	22
1 Oct 47	Bad Mergentheim, Künzelsau	40, 30
2 Oct 47	Backnau, Waiblingen	35, 20
8 Oct 47	Sinsheim, Pforzheim	35, 40
9 Oct 47	Leonberg, Böblingen	35, 30
14 Oct 47	Ludwigsburg	45
21 Oct 47	Mannheim	50
27 Oct 47	Heilbronn	45
28 Oct 47	Bruchsal	60
19 Nov 47	Sinsheim	30
12 Jan 48	Mosbach	50
13 Jan 48	Buchen	80
26 Jan 48	Pforzheim	50
28 Jan 48	Sinsheim	75
1 Mar48	Tauberbischofsheim	150

This is a snapshot of a very small section of military government interaction throughout the German population. In many cases, the social and cultural interaction remained in professional channels. However, each one of these seminars required Army logistical support: transportation assets, fuel, personnel and personnel support. In some cases, specialists from the United States led the program – these individuals were guests of the U. S. Army and required the same level of support as a stationed military member. Furthermore, although the attendance numbers are not

⁴⁰⁵ OMGUS-WB Memorandum dated 10 Mar 1948, “Reorientation Program,” OMGUS Microfiche 12/94-3/4, Baden-Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart.

⁴⁰⁶ Untitled Memorandum dated 20 April 1948 from OMGUS-WB, Reports & Statistics Office, OMGUS Microfiche 12/94-3/16, Baden-Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart.

overwhelming, each person present represented an exchange of information, points of view and perhaps new vistas – a cultural exchange.

While only three areas of the ERAD mission are discussed in more detail below, many other examples of exchange involving U. S. Army logistics support transpired during the military occupation ranging from professional and student exchange programs, publication of OMGUS-sponsored newspapers, relicensing and support to German publishers, to name a few.

3. The battle for German School Reform.

Education, deemed an important venue for democratizing Germans, received a great amount of emphasis with educators within OMGUS and the general academic community, both in the United States and Germany. Additionally, the Potsdam Protocol, JCS 1067 and JCS 1779 specifically addressed education as a critical process toward democratization of the German community.⁴⁰⁷ As noted in the Potsdam Protocol, “German education shall be so controlled as completely to eliminate Nazi and militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas.”⁴⁰⁸ Of the panoply of options available educationally, press, film, theater, literature, radio, and the military government attacked on all these fronts, school reform presented an uphill battle – although one that the U. S. military government never quite won.

However, before engaging the school reform battle, German schools needed to reopen. As the American combat forces moved into Germany, they closed down schools in their path. Reopening the schools as soon as possible after German capitulation in May 1945, took front-

⁴⁰⁷ Potsdam Protocol Section - II, A.7; JCS 1067 - Part I, para. 14; and JCS 1779 - Section VI, para 23. All refer to the elimination of all National Socialist, militaristic and aggressively nationalistic influences, practices and teachings from the German educational system.

⁴⁰⁸ Cassidy, “Berlin (Potsdam) Conference, July 17-August 2, 1945, Protocol of the Proceedings.” Section II, A (7), *Germany 1947-1949, The Story in Documents*, 49.

stage as the short-term objective, if for no other reason, to get the kids off the streets. The following scene played out throughout much of Germany in 1945.

A little German boy, almost six years old in April 1945, went off to his first day of *Grundschule* in a town north of the city of Kassel in Hessen, with a *Schulranzen*, carrying his *Schiefertafel*, *Schwamm*, *Schiefergriffel*, and a piece of bread for lunch, on his back. However, the regional U. S. military commander cancelled schools barely a month later - 8 May 1945. School in this town would not reopen for another year, as the schoolhouse became a hospital. When the school did reopen, trained teachers were scarce, as were the basic materials, including textbooks, normally available for both teachers and students.⁴⁰⁹

Imagine reopening a school system in an environment bombed out by war, in which double-digit infrastructure damage or destruction – buildings, roads, bridges, heating plants, utilities, and transportation systems – represented the norm, particularly in the urban areas. As an example, in the city of Stuttgart, Allied bombing raids completely destroyed eighteen of seventy-five elementary (*Volksschulen*, *Mittelschulen*, *Sonderschulen*) schools and damaged thirty-nine more. Only eighteen schools remained undamaged. Even if the U. S. forces did not requisition any of the eighteen undamaged buildings, 75% of the total number of school buildings required repair or rebuild – in an area where the student population was about to mushroom with the arrival of refugees and expellees.⁴¹⁰

Additionally, extremely limited or even nonexistent fuel supplies and especially coal, prevented even functional heating plants and utility systems from operating. German weather during a good half of the school year could be a bit uncomfortable without heating, especially as many children had little protective clothing or shoes.⁴¹¹ Absence of textbooks, most confiscated

⁴⁰⁹ This insert comes from interviews with three brothers, born in 1939, 1941 and 1942, from a small town in Hessen, as well as a teacher in a reopened school system near Ludwigsburg, in Württemberg-Baden, all affected by school closures immediately after the capitulation and eventual re-openings during the U. S. military occupation.

⁴¹⁰ Statistisches Amt der Stadt Stuttgart, *Statistisches Handbuch der Stadt Stuttgart 1900-1957* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlag Anstalt, 1959), 249.

⁴¹¹ Details of war destruction are readily available from numerous sources. See, for example, Franklin J. Keller, "Germany – A Clinical Case," *High Points in the Work of High Schools in New York City* (April 1948), 22-33, for a

by the occupation authorities, because of their National Socialist slant, added another burden to the school start-ups. Lecture-style teaching day in and day out, with classes averaging a student-to-teacher ratio of 60 or 70 to 1, severely challenged the teaching staffs. Further, at least in the first two years, 1945-1947, the denazification processes decimated the teaching ranks barring varying percentages of teachers, estimates range from between 40-80% depending on location,⁴¹² from the classroom until (if) they eventually received clearances. As a final point, if the local school buildings had survived the bombings in decent condition, problematic, as most schools in the cities and towns were located in the central, urban areas largely targeted by the air raids, and difficult to assess prior to arrival in the area, U.S. forces most likely requisitioned them for their own requirements. As the schools had been ordered closed by the first occupation proclamations, and initially no reopening dates considered, school authorities often scrounged to take whatever other facilities were left, to reopen their schools. These second-hand buildings often required repair, sometimes extensive, in an environment short on building materials. Ingenuity and creativity often combined with practical solutions, for example, no-longer functional cloth, metal, and other textiles often filled holes in the walls or served as windows in many buildings. Army engineers, given time away from the more critical bridge, road and utility repairs, lent assistance in major repair.⁴¹³ Knappen, part of the first CA detachment to arrive in Germany, Aachen, in September 1944, summed up the situation. “The essentials for a properly

brief discussion on the on-the-ground situation in Germany post-capitulation. Additionally, Marshall Knappen, *And Call it Peace*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), discusses the situation in Aachen when the first U. S. Civil Affairs Detachment set boot on German soil.

⁴¹² Havighurst, “German Schools in 1947,” *The Elementary School Journal*, 418. Havighurst was initially a Professor of Chemistry as a postgraduate fellow until he switched fields to experimental education. He was also Assistant Director of the General Education Board, Rockefeller Foundation, and in his second academic career, Professor of Education at University of Chicago. Havighurst is best known for his studies in child development. For biographical information, see, for example, <http://www.halloffame.outreach.ou.edu/1997/havighur.html> (accessed 7 Jun 2012)

⁴¹³ Robert P. Grathwol and Donita M Moorhus, *Building for Peace: U. S. Army Engineers in Europe, 1945-1991* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History and Corps of Engineers United States Army, 2005), Chapter 1.

oriented German school system were assumed to be adequate school buildings, suitable curriculums and instructional materials, and proper instructional staff . . . [It was hoped] that subordinate commanders could be persuaded to evacuate their troops from enough school buildings to permit the general resumption of instructional activities.”⁴¹⁴ Eventually, commanders did call for an evacuation of school buildings, however, in the early days of the occupation, school leaders scrounged for repair material, and although the card deck was clearly stacked against reopening schools, German officials and the U. S. Army forged ahead to repair damaged utility systems, and provide some measure of school space to reopen the schools.

3.1 Development of the OMGUS School Reform Philosophy.

Other than the Allied Control Council Directive No. 54 (June 47) and MGR Title 8 (November 45 with changes 2 and 3, May 46 and Mar 47, respectively), no Standing Operating Procedures (SOP) existed for OMGUS subordinate ERAD/ECRD offices as to how to reorganize German education systems before January 1947. Nonetheless, the three *Länder* ERAD offices – Bavaria, Württemberg-Baden and Hessen -- supported each other and pursued similar courses of action – to restructure the German elementary and secondary schools along the lines of the American school system. In the meantime, Headquarters, OMGUS requested support in developing a school reform template. Retrospective interviews set out the problems associated with the U. S. Army’s efforts to reform German education at all levels. The first noteworthy team arrived in Germany during the summer of 1946.

George F. Zook,⁴¹⁵ leading a team of professional educators representing a cross-section of American educational institutions, after their August 1946 visit with German educators and

⁴¹⁴ Knappen, *And Call it Peace*, 63.

⁴¹⁵ George F. Zook. Alumnus of University of Kansas and professor at Pennsylvania State University. Later, Zook was President of Akron University, Commissioner of Education under President Roosevelt, and President of the American Council of Education from 1934 to 1950.

U. S. military government officials proposed in their “Report of the U. S. Education Mission to Germany”⁴¹⁶ the following template as a methodology toward German education reform.

Foremost, German Ministries of Education must develop a comprehensive school system, wherein children remain together for the duration of the elementary school program (six years), not segregated by vocational or professional intentions. Second, German Ministries of Education develop a curriculum imbued with “a significant contribution to democratic experience,”⁴¹⁷ and along these lines, that this experience expand across all academic levels by increasing class time in the social studies and cultural subjects areas. Third, German Ministries of Education establish a leadership-training program within the schools and youth groups and committees outside of the school environment. Fourth, send German teachers and students to the United States “for the purpose of study and reeducation along democratic lines.”⁴¹⁸

Based on these recommendations, the U. S. military government through the *Länder* ERAD offices, directed that each German Minister of Education complete and submit a proposal incorporating educational aims, objectives and proposed school structure to the appropriate *Land* ERAD by 1 April 1947. In the interim, Headquarters, OMGUS, using the Zook template, affirmed the following principles for all levels of education in MGR 8, Change 3, and directed that each *Landesminister* of Education strive toward execution of these principles:

- Provide equal educational opportunity for all;
- Provide free public schools, free textbooks and materials with school maintenance grants for those in need of aid;
- Establish compulsory school attendance for all students from six to fifteen years and compulsory part-time education from fifteen to eighteen years;
- Establish elementary and secondary levels to mean two consecutive levels, not two different types or qualities of instruction; [for example, some children went from

⁴¹⁶ George F. Zook, *Japan and Germany: Problems in Reeducation, Official Summaries of Reports of the United States Educational Missions*, 3-19, 27-33.

⁴¹⁷ OMGUS, Report of the Military Governor, U. S. Zone, no. 22, *Education and Religion* (Berlin, 1 May 1946 to 30 April 1947): 3.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Grundschule on to *Gymnasium* or *Realschule*, completion of which entitled these students to attend university, whereas the majority of students remained in the *Volksschule* system, received some form of vocational training for a trade or skill]

- School curriculums emphasize education for civic responsibility and a democratic way of life;
- Schools promote international good will and understanding through curricula;
- Schools provide professional education and vocational guidance;
- All schools provide health supervision and health education;
- Conduct teacher education at the university [or equivalent pedagogical] level;
- Safeguard educational standards;
- Where the [*Land*] constitution permits, establish inter-denominational and denominational schools side by side;
- Develop of a democratic school administration sensitive to the wishes of the people.⁴¹⁹

When finally published in June 1947, the ACC Directive did not specifically prohibit a dual-track system as many American educators in the OMGUS system involved in the German school reform process proclaimed or argued. Paragraph 4, Directive No. 54 only states that, “Schools for the compulsory periods should form a comprehensive educational system. The terms, elementary and secondary, should mean two consecutive levels of instruction, not two types or qualities of instruction which overlap.”⁴²⁰ The lack of clarity, particularly in defining ‘comprehensive educational system’ and ‘consecutive levels,’ paved the way toward multiple school reform plans from, and even within each occupation zone, that according to several educators, took a decade and more to iron out after the occupation period. OMGUS defined the above terms to mean the German historic dual-track system prevalent prior to 1933, in which a student’s academic future, and often his career were determined after the fourth school year (completion of the *Grundschule*). Thus, the official OMGUS policy drifted toward a school

⁴¹⁹ Headquarters, USFET, OMGUS, Military Government Regulation, Title 8, Education and Religious Affairs. (Frankfurt, GE, 30 Nov 45, Change 3, dated 14 Mar 47).

⁴²⁰ Allied Control Authority Germany. Directive No. 54, “Basic Principles for Democratization of Education in Germany, 25 Jun 1947.” *Enactments and Approved Papers*, Volume 7 (April-June 1947): Item 4, 153. Library of Congress Call Number KK9.2.G47. Also available through: www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/enactments-home.html

reform that would mirror most American schools, or six elementary years – three middle school years – and three high school years.

An official memorandum from the Eastern Military District office in Bavaria, “Preliminary Report of the Study of Practical Methods of Teaching Democracy to the Individual German,” not only reflected then current U. S. military government attitudes on the prospects of democratizing the German people, but also provided recommendations to strengthen the democratization program.⁴²¹ This report, prepared within the Bavarian OMGUS Education and Religious Affairs Branch, and signed by its Chief, E. G. Bergman, consists of three sections: (1) an outline of the problems encountered in teaching democracy to the individual German; (2) the mechanics of teaching democracy [at that time]; and (3) recommendations to improve the formal education program. Bergman and his team considered the problems encountered in teaching democracy to Germans formidable, but surmountable. Bergman asserted:

There is still no impelling demand felt by the German people as a whole for freedom and individualism. There are today no German outstanding leaders to blaze the trail, no spontaneous meetings, no slogans to summarize the ideals of liberty, equality and justice for all. The German people from long training remain docile, disciplined and almost anxious to be led.⁴²²

Further, Bergman suggested that Germans prefer their hierarchical stratification of society, “Germans prefer that those less fortunate remain servants, inferiors, and submissive and manageable personalities.”⁴²³ How Bergman and his staff ascertained and validated these characteristics – perhaps from the Merritt team OMGUS Surveys – remains a mystery. However, Bergman made one observation that was not lost on many Germans: “No defeated

⁴²¹ Memorandum, Office of Military Government for Bavaria, Internal Affairs Division, Education and Religious Affairs Branch, From: W. G. Bergman, Chief Education and Religious Affairs Branch, To: Chairman, Interdivisional Committee, Office of Military Government for Bavaria, *Subject: Preliminary Report on a Study of Practical Methods of Teaching Democracy to the Individual German*. 16 May 47. Baden- Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv, OMGUS Fiche 12/94-3/4 (1 of 2).

⁴²² Ibid., 1.

⁴²³ Ibid., 2.

land under any army of occupation is fertile soil for the seed of democracy. Occupation by its very nature requires authority and submission.”⁴²⁴ For Bergman and staff, indeed, for OMGUS Headquarters, formal education in the schools system and informal education through the information media offered the best approach toward reorienting the German people. Official policy supported this observation – in fact, the Potsdam Protocol targeted education as a key component of the occupation reorientation program.

The Bergman team offered several approaches to reorienting the German school system. Foremost for Bergman, but also a stated OMGUS priority, abolish the “two-track” educational system that limited attendance to *Gymnasium* to “less than one tenth of the population,”⁴²⁵ and thus also limited access to university and a professional career. Numerous senior OMGUS officials and American educators brought to Germany as consultants argued that in this traditional system, aristocracy and economic affluence rather than academic merit determined selection for higher education leading to professional careers. In place of the “two-track” system, “elective courses and flexible curricula [at all educational levels] should offer every child a chance to choose his way and plan his life according to his interests and abilities.”⁴²⁶

Second, reading very much like a page from then-typical American public school manuals, Bergman advocated that the process of establishing school policy should reside within the local community, and not exclusively at *Länder* ministries of education or with church officials. “The parents and citizens of Bavaria should be impressed with the fact that the schools belong to them and that, in reality, the school administrator is the servant of the people. Expressions of the voice of the people on educational matters should be encouraged through

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 3.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

every media of public relations. There should be an opportunity to organize parent-teacher associations and to inform parents on educational matters before the vote on such issues.”⁴²⁷

Third, while ministries of education should establish minimum standards and objectives for curriculum and courses of study, decentralization of curriculum development provided a more democratic process wherein teachers, together with supervisors and school officials should engage in developing curriculum plans and courses of study at the local level.

Finally, Bergman offered several mechanics for teaching democracy to the individual German through the information media.⁴²⁸ His opinion and that of several educators acting as consultants for OMGUS during the occupation period suggested that Germans could best teach each other democratization. In this case, “the role of the German editors, publicists, book and magazine publishers and personalities in radio, film and theater, becomes indeed an important one.”⁴²⁹ Realistically, however, these agencies and individuals faced censorship from occupation authorities, not only in publishing and broadcasting their own publications and material, but also in postal censorship regulations that “prohibit the sending of foreign periodicals or books to individual Germans. Relaxation of this prohibition will greatly aid in widening horizons.”⁴³⁰ Moreover, the scarcity, control and rationing of paper severely constrained publication by even the licensed presses. Bergman noted that, of the approved-for-publication manuscripts accepted by Bavarian publishers in the first quarter of 1947, “paper shortages prevented printing more than 90 percent of the manuscripts. At present, there are more than 700 applications for

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 4.

⁴²⁸ Ibid., 4

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 5.

licensing of magazines pending. Only a small fraction can be approved because of lack of paper.”⁴³¹

The concluding section of Bergman’s Preliminary Report reiterated the importance that German laypersons take part in the development of school policy and curriculum, as well as the relaxation of postal censorship. Further, he called for expediting travel abroad possibilities for Germans “who desire and are capable of taking the lead in the democratic reorientation of Germany.”⁴³² Finally, he lobbied for additional stocks of paper for Bavarian publishers. The essence of Bergman’s report tracked in official military government reports throughout the U. S. occupation zone during this period. How did the ERAD and ICD offices react to Bergman’s suggestions?

ERAD officials continued to pound the hallways of German offices in the *Kultusministerien* encouraging officials to put into practice many of Bergman’s (and others) report findings. American officials and visiting education specialists continued to attend public meetings of German teachers, parents and laymen explaining how American public education functioned. One impressive tool to this end procured by the Stuttgart Education Service Center, involved the American School Practices exhibit that toured Heidenheim, Heilbronn, Göppingen, Heidelberg, Karlsruhe and Mannheim. The nucleus of the exhibit centered on American public school structure and objectives of education, intending to be a jump-off point for discussion among officials, education specialists and visitors at the exhibitions. The exhibition included typical schoolbooks, bulletins, charts, photographs, school building plans, and even short motion pictures of American schools at work.⁴³³ An article written by twelve German university professors who visited this exhibition in Karlsruhe, noted that the displays were intensive,

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Ibid., 7.

⁴³³ OMGUS, *Monthly Report*, no. 16 (October 1946): 24.

covering the school life of American children from kindergarten to university, to include display and explanations of American educational philosophy and the use of social studies in the classroom.⁴³⁴ According to an ERAD report, an official formal opening attended by prominent German educators inaugurated each exhibit. Attendance ranged from 500 visitors at Heidenheim to over 2,200 in Mannheim. While no dollar cost for producing the exhibit was given, a similar exhibit cost \$5,000, according to an ERAD compilation of expenses for 1947-1948.

ERAD or its subsidiary Educational Service Centers- sponsored workshops covering a variety of subjects, to include curriculum preparation and school (all grade levels) textbook writing, flourished. The ERAD annual report shows the cost for these workshops ranged between \$2,500 in smaller towns and \$5,000 in Stuttgart. Running the Educational Service Centers (a total of eight in the U. S. occupation zone) in Württemberg-Baden rounded out at \$318,226. This figure included the cost of "Help from Outside." Among the visiting consultants, Robert E. Keohane, a specialist in social sciences and social science pedagogy, George Bush, a specialist in modern school building construction, and Dewitt Boney and Lucile Allard, textbook writing consultants, assisted German colleagues engaged in the same specialties.

Robert J. Havighurst, in his reports on German education for the Rockefeller Foundation,⁴³⁵ and later in a University of Chicago journal article, reiterated that German schools

⁴³⁴ "American Education," *Das Neue Baden*, 16 September 1948. Baden-Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv, OMGUS Microfiche 12/94-3/1. The twelve professors who experienced a professional exchange visit at the University of Chicago, and who subsequently visited the schools exhibition in Karlsruhe, undersigned this article.

⁴³⁵ Havighurst, "German Schools in 1947," *The Elementary School Journal*, 418-426. Havighurst, originally a professor of physics and chemistry, changed fields to experimental education, transferring to University of Wisconsin-Madison, and finally University of Chicago. At the request of the Rockefeller Foundation, he, as its Assistant Director of the General Education Board, travelled to Germany and Austria on two occasions in 1947 and 1948 to research both countries' education systems under the military occupation. The Rockefeller Foundation planned to fund three fellowships beginning in the fall 1948 semester for German applicants, primarily those engaged in the field of education. Specifics on the fellowships in an OMGUS-WB- ECAD Memorandum dated 10 November 1947, Baden-Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart, OMGUS Microfiche 12/94-3/4.

functioned under a grave handicap with few if any texts, severe shortage of teachers and inadequate physical plant, even as late as 1947. He pointed out other detractors hampering rebuilding the German education system to include German family life dislocated by wartime evacuations and war losses and German responsibility for education of children in the Displaced Persons camps as well as the increasing flow of refugees and expellees from Germany's neighbors to the East. Havighurst also noted the "existence in Germany of a group of conquerors who have power and privilege on a level different from that of the German population – the possessors of automobiles, the best houses [requisitioned from the German economy], plenty of coal, plenty of food, chocolates, cigarettes and all the other symbols of comfort that the Germans are denied."⁴³⁶

Havighurst's observations represented those of many American educators observing and commenting on the German school system at the time. Similar to other European schools systems, German schools operated under a dual track system. Selection for the secondary track appeared to favor children of middle and upper class parents. Approximately 10 to 15% of a fourth year elementary school (*Grundschule*) class entered a secondary school (*Gymnasium* or equivalent), that usually charged a tuition not affordable by the lower classes, and which would upon graduation and receipt of the *Abitur*, allow these students access to a university or equivalent professional school. According to critics of the German dual-track system, this system not only disadvantaged the lower classes, but also resulted in separating the secondary education-bound students from the rest of the children, further stratifying society. Additionally, Havighurst noted the high centralization of authority over education in that the regional governments, without the benefit of local school board input, dictated school policy. Furthermore, Havighurst remarked on the abysmal situation relative to virtually non-existent

⁴³⁶ Havighurst, "German Schools in 1947." *The Elementary School Journal*, 418-426.

school materials, including textbooks and extreme shortage of teachers resulting on average to a teacher-to-student ratio of 1:80.⁴³⁷

Havighurst concluded by noting that in the American zone, the three *Länder* education ministers argued that changing the school structure to allow all students eligibility to a university or equivalent professional school represented a cost that the German economy could ill afford. Moreover, the high standards of the traditional Gymnasium would fall, as lower levels of work in these schools would follow if all students attended.⁴³⁸ Havighurst, however, failed to mention that, while several members of two *Länder Kultusministerien*, Hessen and Württemberg-Baden, voiced these concerns, they at the same time suggested work-arounds to ameliorate these particular issues. Havighurst also incorrectly reported that German educators in three zones (Hessen, Württemberg-Baden and Bavaria), “refused to go over to the American system of an elementary school that is the same for all children, followed by a secondary school which all children are eligible to attend but which offers a choice of courses and leaves the way open to the university.”⁴³⁹ This most certainly was not the case in Hessen as, according to James F. Tent, “Greater Hesse acquired the reputation of being the most progressive” of the *Länder* in the U. S. occupation zone in accepting OMGUS-ERAD policies regarding restructuring the school system.⁴⁴⁰

However, Havighurst did point out that the German educators he interviewed and observed enthusiastically supported emphasizing civic responsibility, a democratic way of life, and international understanding in social studies courses in the curriculum. In addition, generally, most educators favored improving teacher education by placing that program either

⁴³⁷ Ibid., 421.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 422.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ Tent, *Mission on the Rhine, Reeducation and Denazification in American-Occupied Germany*, 167-200.

within the university or at a university-equivalent pedagogical institution, although some disagreement between secondary and elementary-level teachers occurred over the need for elementary teachers to receive that level of education.⁴⁴¹

According to Havighurst, the Bavarians offered the harshest criticisms of the American objectives. Alois Hundhammer, appointed as Bavaria's Minister of Culture and Education in December 1946, a conservative, traditionalist on education and leading figure in the *Christlich Soziale Union* (CSU), according to James Tent, "was to have a profound impact on the development of school reform throughout the U. S. Zone during the remainder of the occupation."⁴⁴² Hundhammer and his staff voiced concerns over societal changes that would probably result from implementation of the American model, particularly urbanization and secularization brought about by a need to eliminate many rural schools to accommodate the structure and afford the expenses associated with implementing American expectations. More importantly, Havighurst noted that the Bavarian Education Ministry felt that the proposed school reform "mistakenly identifies an institutional form with true democracy," and that other countries, e.g., England, the Scandinavian countries, France, and Switzerland have dual track systems, and all "have managed to obtain a fair measure of democracy."⁴⁴³

While E. G. Bergman and his staff in the Bavarian OMGUS-ERAD ran the gauntlet with Hundhammer and staff in preparing their Preliminary Report (May 1947), German educators in the other *Länder* in the U. S. occupation zone, also wrestled with the recent OMGUS directives on reeducation in general and school reform in particular. However, lack of textbooks, teachers and appropriate school facilities, either because many schools were damaged or destroyed during

⁴⁴¹ Havighurst, "German Schools in 1947," *The Elementary School Journal*, 423.

⁴⁴² Tent, *Mission on the Rhine, Reeducation and Denazification in American-Occupied Germany*, 124. For a solid overview of OMGUS efforts to reform the school system in Bavaria, see Tent, *Mission on the Rhine*, pages 110-163, "Kulturkampf in Bavaria."

⁴⁴³ Havighurst, "German Schools in 1947," *The Elementary School Journal*, 425.

the war, or because U. S. occupation forces had requisitioned school buildings, topped the “to-fix” list for most German officials. Reform of school structure seemed to them of secondary importance – not so to ERAD officials and the U. S. educators advising Headquarters, OMGUS.

Vaughn R. DeLong, a school administrator in Pennsylvania and Army Captain with a Civil Affairs G-5 team that arrived in Hessen in April 1945, wrote that the Germans “must build a school system that will train a German folk both capable and desirous of maintaining a democracy, [one] that will be a peaceful, contributing member of the world of nations, . . . [as well as one that] domestically lives together in social units capable of cooperating in community projects.”⁴⁴⁴ Such an educational philosophy would transform the authoritarian, didactically oriented education system into one that would focus on popular democracy with constitutionally guaranteed freedoms of speech, press and religion. How to inculcate this philosophy into German politicians and educators plagued OMGUS personnel for the duration of the occupation. Ironically, U. S. military government educators in a rather undemocratic fashion mandated restructuring and democratizing the German school system as the primary and long-range objective of German education reform.

Franklin J. Keller presciently noted that in the traditional German school system an extremely small percentage of children were selected for an academic high school education (*Gymnasium*). This selection process, in his opinion, based more on the social and economic standing of the parents rather than on academic aptitude or intelligence, would make American attempts to transform German education “into something preparatory to sound democratic citizenship” extremely difficult.⁴⁴⁵ As Keller presumed, American school reform plans,

⁴⁴⁴ Vaughn R. DeLong, “School Reform in *Land Hesse*,” *American School Board Journal* 117, (October 1948): 40.

⁴⁴⁵ Franklin J. Keller, “Germany – A Clinical Case,” *High Points in the Works of the High Schools of New York City*, (April 1948): 32. Keller served for one year as Chief of the Vocational and Technical Section of the Education and Religious Affairs Branch, OMGUS-Berlin.

especially recommendations for restructuring grade levels to mirror a typical American school system, netted mixed results by the end of the military occupation period. The *Länder* implemented free public education, and initially free textbooks if and when available. As regards altering the school structure itself, Hessen, Württemberg-Baden and Bavaria approached this American objective differently.

Alonzo Grace assumed the directorship of the OMGUS Education and Cultural Affairs Division (formerly the Education and Religious Affairs Division) in 1949. That summer, in a prepared radio-talk presentation, he summarized the basic problem that numerous OMGUS-employed and contracted American educators had had over the prior four years with the traditional German school system. The following quoted sections, part of the original written text, were apparently deleted from the radio-talk presentation. Nonetheless, the text succinctly speaks to reservations often found in written narratives of U. S. OMGUS officials and educators involved in the school reform process over the previous four years.

Alonzo Grace specifically condemned the German dual-track system wherein, “The typical German secondary school conceives its purpose to be academic, that is, making a few people good scholars rather than making many people good, intelligent, useful citizens,” by stressing “the classical languages, mathematics and the physical sciences at the expense of social studies, student activities, and vocational guidance.” Further, Grace argued for more student participation in classroom discussions rather than the traditional *Frontalunterricht* (straight lecturing) technique preferred in the *Gymnasien*: “Instruction is still largely authoritarian in method, with few opportunities afforded students for participation in discussion groups or in student government.” Moreover, as the *Gymnasien* more often than not charged tuition, the children from lower income families often could not attend a *Gymnasium* and were thus unable

to go into university and subsequently into the prestigious professions. “Thus German education has retained its traditional organization, methodology, and objectives, despite long and strenuous efforts on the part of progressive German educators [and American military government and education specialists] to improve it.”⁴⁴⁶ Inferring from Grace’s comments, some American officials connected Germany’s militaristic and authoritarian past, as well as the more recent Nazi past to an historical elitist, authoritarian and undemocratic school system.⁴⁴⁷

The only possible solution toward changing Germany’s militarist and authoritarian tendencies then, was to democratize the school system, from the bottom up. The litany of observations and recommendations discussed above coalesced over the course of the occupation into OMGUS policy (rather late in the game) to reform the German school system.

3.2. The OMGUS Plan – School structures and education policy.

In the beginning, OMGUS improvised on both school structures and reeducation policies – the primary motivation - get the kids off the streets. Security officials and U. S. military police conjectured that the majority of petty criminal activity, particularly in the urban areas, stemmed from bored youth wandering the streets. The obvious solution to lowering crime rates – restart the schools. The first *Volksschulen*, the typical German 8-year elementary schools in the U. S. occupation zone prepared to open officially on 1 October 1945 despite shortages of fuel for heating, rooms, teachers, and texts. Before the school doors swung open, the military

⁴⁴⁶ OMGUS files, 12/94-3/1. The only date on the document was summer, 1949.

⁴⁴⁷ Both the German and the American education systems developed differently. First, the German system had been around for a while, the American system in its infancy. Second, each school system represented its historical and traditional roots, and each country developed a school system that supported its [perceived] national interests. Professor Tent argues that exclusivity dominated the German system, commonality the American system. Furthermore, Professor Tent argues, as do most education specialists writing histories of American education, that the American education system was designed to prepare all members of society with a common tool set to function in, and contribute to that society morally, professionally and socially. Further, that the German educational system, in its class-stratified society “trained different social groups for different tasks,” imparting “starkly contrasting economic and social skills to separate social groups at an early age (Tent, pages 2-4). Reducing the argument to a base level, American education focused on a common system available to all, while German education focused on contrasting systems geared to produce different results. The critique of the German system was that it did not offer equal opportunity. However, realistically, neither did the American system.

government required, however, that the *Landeskultusministerien* (Departments of Culture) develop, submit to, and receive approval from U. S. military government authorities for their proposals for school curriculum and administrative functions. One part of a proposal included a list of all employees (for the purposes of denazification), as well as a teaching program of instruction free from reference to militarism, any aspect of National Socialism, or para-military training.⁴⁴⁸ Obviously, both parts of a proposal focused on denazification; and the second part, rewriting a program of instruction, could only be roughly accomplished in the short-term.

A second memorandum announced the possibility of opening *Gymnasien*, German secondary schools, as early as 1 December 1945, following similar instructions for the *Volksschulen*, with the added instruction that schools could only use military government-approved texts in the classroom. The task of resolving the textbook shortage, from evaluating the texts for worthiness, to producing viable replacements for the thousands of texts confiscated fell primarily to the Civil Affairs detachments. Further, the memo informed the recipients vocational and trade schools were to follow these same procedures when they reopened in the near future.⁴⁴⁹ At least schools were reopening!

The methodology adopted by OMGUS to meet democratization of the school system presupposed that the Germans – educators, parents and citizens – acknowledged the need for, and supported an American model for school reform. The first phase toward this objective involved the denazification of school administrators, teachers and textbooks. Official U. S. occupation policy required that school administrators submit to the military government, for

⁴⁴⁸ Memorandum from Headquarters U. S. Military Government, Württemberg-Baden (Colonel Dawson's office), to the Director of the Department of Culture, Land Württemberg, Subject: Duties and Responsibilities of the Director of Culture for Land Württemberg, dated 27 Sep 45, Baden- Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv, OMGUS Fiche 12/23-1/1.

⁴⁴⁹ Memorandum from Headquarters U. S. Military Government, Württemberg-Baden (Colonel Dawson's office), to all the Military Government Detachments in *Landkreis* and *Stadtkreis* Württemberg-Baden, Subject: Opening of Secondary and Vocational Schools, 18 Oct 45, Baden- Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv, OMGUS Fiche 12/23-1/1.

approval, a list of teachers, texts and other school materials before a school could reopen. This process usually began with the *Grundschule*, and as with most policies, exceptions occurred, especially in urban areas where getting the kids off the streets was paramount. Nonetheless, this process delayed many school openings – alone, the denazification of teachers. As DeLong noted, for the Hesse area, about 55% of the schoolteachers and most of the higher school officials faced arduous denazification procedures, keeping this group out of the school system until either cleared by the German Denazification Courts or disqualified.⁴⁵⁰ As already mentioned, this process reduced the number of available teachers, forcing almost unimaginable student-teacher ratios. Adding to this chaos, lack of adequate facilities forced many schools, particularly in urban areas, to run students through in two and sometimes three shifts per day.

The second phase, running concurrently with denazification, focused on resolving these infrastructure shortages. As German and U. S. forces repaired damaged buildings at least provisionally, or the U. S. forces returned requisitioned facilities, the school infrastructure shortage improved, but the first two or three years were grim.

Having addressed the denazification process and infrastructure shortages, the third phase kicked in with the OMGUS-ERAD sections marketing their strongly recommended changes – the culmination of and compilation from all the American education specialists' visits to Germany - to their German counterparts in the *Kultusministerien*. In Hessen, this process involved the establishment of committees to study various aspects of school reform. Committee members represented the local population both professionally as educators and as laypersons. U. S. military government officials advised, analyzed and reviewed committee recommendations. This process involving as many as thirty theme-oriented committees completed the first reports

⁴⁵⁰ DeLong, "School Reform in *Land Hesse*," 33. Initially, U. S. military government officials administered the denazification process. By 1947, U. S. military government turned this mission over to carefully selected groups of local German citizens in most of the U. S. occupation zone.

by July 1947. The OMGUS-ERAD offices then reviewed the products between September 1947 and January 1948.⁴⁵¹

Perhaps the most critical phase – at least for the U. S. military government contingent – involved development of a school structure and curriculum that provided all students a common experience, eliminating what the American educators in the military government believed to be an elitist system that had not and would not produce a democratic citizenship. These U. S. officials, predominantly in the OMGUS-ERAD divisions at each of the three *Länder*, Hessen, Württemberg-Baden and Bavaria, proposed a single school system, with mandatory attendance through the eighth class. Students would then progress from the first grade through the eighth grade, the first six grades considered the elementary level. The following two or three years, depending on a student's career choice, represented the middle school level. The tenth through thirteenth grades corresponded to the high school level. For those students not planning to complete the high school level, required for university attendance, vocational education along with “on-the-job” training followed the eighth class for approximately three years, including between 6 to 15 hours of class work, depending on the specialty pursued.

Common curricula, in addition to German language and mathematics, would, according to OMGUS officials, include history, geography, citizenship, government, science art, music, physical education and religion, with differentiation allowed for foreign language instruction as early as the fifth and sixth grades. The American rationale backing this recommendation developed from the American educator's opinion that “the German problem” developed historically due to a lack of outward-looking international history studies and an inward examination and contemplation of civics – the rights and duties of a democratic citizen. In

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 33.

addition, in accordance with OMGUS directives, local German governments were to enact legislation banning tuition at public schools.

Peripheral to reopening schools, reducing student-to-teacher ratios, and restructuring the school system, OMGUS-ERAD officials sought to restructure teacher education programs as well as grant programs and funding that would bring German educators into contact with educational development in other Western-oriented democracies. One program, the Rockefeller Fellowships, funded several categories of studies to include programs allowing acceptable German educators to tour educational institutions in the United States for periods ranging from several weeks to almost a year. Through such programs, U. S. education officials hoped to better train teachers at all levels of education, to encourage local citizen participation in the schools as well as student participation in student government within the schools, and to develop tactics, techniques and procedures to encourage more student participation in the classroom and less *Frontalunterricht* by teachers.

As riveting, controversial and drawn-out as the school and curriculum structural changes proved to be, rewriting textbooks created a similar challenge for both U. S. administrators and German educators. As John Rodden noted, “Books have long been weapons in cultural wars – it’s no secret that education is one way of transmitting culture.”⁴⁵² Clearly, NSDAP-sponsored textbooks would not meet OMGUS directives or U.S. education standards. OMGUS officials and educators involved in this issue agreed that German educators should write the new textbooks. Resorting to external authoring, i.e., German émigrés, Swiss, Austrian or even translated American/English versions, took the responsibility for the work itself, as well as acceptance of the work by those teaching, away from the Germans in Germany. However, how

⁴⁵² John Rodden, *Textbook Reds: Schoolbooks, Ideology and Eastern German Identity*, (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), xxv

to find “clean” educators, those not under denazification processes and who were forward thinking and democracy-oriented?⁴⁵³ What textbooks could serve in the interim while educators modified or rewrote unacceptable material? What process would guide the writing effort insuring presentation of appropriate material and views?

Two examples of text-writing outcomes demonstrate initiative and creativity on the part of U. S. OMGUS officials: the Aachen school re-openings in 1945 and the U. S. sector in Berlin during 1947-1948. Nazi-era textbooks did not meet acceptable criteria, and the Nazi machine destroyed many of the pre-1933 era textbooks, replacing them with NSDAP-approved texts. Educators assigned to the U. S. Army’s Civil Affairs Division grappled with this conundrum as early as spring, 1944. According to Marshall Knappen, an Army Civil Affairs officer with the initial American detachment entering Aachen in September 1944,⁴⁵⁴ the early search for temporary replacement textbooks ended at the Teachers College, Columbia University. Knappen and his graduate school advisor at Columbia University in the 1920s, Alexander (later the chief of HQ, OMGUS-ERAD/ECAD), had collected a number of Weimar-era textbooks for the Teachers College library. “Microfilms of some two hundred and seventy of the most likely looking prospects from the New York collection arrived in England.”⁴⁵⁵ Educators edited and updated the selected texts in London; fashioned printing plates, and sent the plates to the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) Civil Affairs Directorate in early 1945. SHAEF managed to scrounge the resources – paper, printing presses and ink – and printed approximately 20,000 copies of approved texts for the Aachen *Grundschulen* in time for a

⁴⁵³ According to documented lists acquired by the Allies even before war’s end, overwhelming numbers of German teachers joined the NSDAP-affiliated teacher organization, whether active participants or not, and were therefore considered at least by U. S. OMGUS officials as Nazi affiliates. This explains the monumental percentages of teachers banned from teaching unless and until cleared through the denazification procedures.

⁴⁵⁴ Knappen, *And Call it Peace*. Knappen was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford in 1921, and Chief of the Religious Affairs Section and Deputy Chief of the Education Section OMGUS in 1945-46. After returning to the U. S., he resumed civilian life as Professor of History and Political Science at Michigan State College (now, University).

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid. 65-66.

summer 1945 school opening. Many of these reproduced texts found their way into other school systems throughout the U. S. zone, serving until 1947 or so when new, U. S. military government-approved, German-written texts appeared on the market.

Berlin's situation, in particular, differed markedly, for educational issues required presentation before and concurrence from the Four-Power *Kommandatura*, established under the Potsdam Protocol to govern Berlin. The Four Powers had to reach consensus on an outline of history and approve a final text before use in a Berlin school. Aside from Berlin, the *Länder* approached this task in various ways. OMGUS education officers had directed that German curriculum designers add history and increase social studies in general to school curriculums, but OMGUS had not allowed the teaching of history in the German schools in Berlin until after new textbooks appeared.⁴⁵⁶ Officials finally backed off this decision and brought Mary G. Kelty to Berlin to initiate the textbook writing process for the 1948 school year. Mary G. Kelty,⁴⁵⁷ an educational consultant to the Office of Military Government, Berlin for six months in 1947-48, later related Berlin's textbook tale.

Acknowledging that, as Kelty observed, "Prejudice-free history is extremely difficult for any nation to produce or accept,"⁴⁵⁸ U. S. education officials requested a commission of social studies experts from the United States to survey the situation. In conjunction with OMGUS-selected German education authorities, they resolved to rewrite history textbooks first. The Berlin schools committee had prepared outlines for all grades, but decided to begin work on textbooks for grades 5 thru 12. This committee, encouraged strongly by the American consultants, opted to have actively teaching Germans, selected under specific criteria (to include

⁴⁵⁶ "Making History," *Time Magazine* 51, no. 25, (21 June 1948): 61.

⁴⁵⁷ Mary G. Kelty, University of Chicago, educator, particularly in the social sciences, grades 5-12.

⁴⁵⁸ Mary Kelty, "Specific Advances in Germany's New Task of Social Education," *Social Education* 13, (January 1949): 20.

a favorable denazification check), establish teams of three teachers per grade to rewrite the textbooks for that grade. To entice the best volunteers from their classrooms, OMGUS-Education and Cultural Affairs Division (the division's name changed from ERAD to ECAD in 1948) offered incentives that included the teachers' regular pay with an additional royalty, one meal in the OMGUS Indigenous⁴⁵⁹ Mess, bus passes on the military government's bus system, and a warm room to work in. Many of these teachers later received a CARE package from American teachers stateside.⁴⁶⁰ OMGUS-ECAD arranged all the logistics requirements: they opened a curriculum center, staffed German clerical persons and translators, acquired typewriters, ribbons and paper. As Kelty acknowledged, "Without the help supplied by Army education sources – the courses for the Armed Forces, extra copies from the military government libraries – the work could not have been done."⁴⁶¹ The textbooks, finally written and approved, appeared in Berlin schools in the U.S. Sector in 1949.

3.3 The School Reform Battle in the U. S. Occupation Zone.

Despite OMGUS' best efforts, German educators generally resisted American proposals for structural school reform. A brief case study of the Württemberg-Baden struggle demonstrates this point.

3.3.1 Württemberg-Baden.

The battle lines for German school reform in Württemberg-Baden were drawn in 1947. On the German side, the Württemberg-Baden *Kultusministerium* established a permanent commission for school reform, headed initially by the Superintendent of Secondary Education for Land Württemberg-Baden, Christian Caselmann. On the OMGUS side, Major (MAJ)

⁴⁵⁹ OMGUS term for German citizens living in Germany at that time.

⁴⁶⁰ Kelty, "Specific Advances in Germany's New Task of Social Education," 18.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

Richard Banks, Acting Director of OMGUS-Education and Religious Affairs Division, challenged repeatedly the Caselmann Proposal.

As noted earlier, OMGUS-Education and Religious Affairs Division, Berlin (ERAD/ECAD) updated and published guidance on German school reform in January 1947, notifying subordinate units of the new requirement for German Education Ministers (*Kultusminister*) to prepare comprehensive statements of the aims, objectives and progress of their school reform and curriculum development plans on all levels of education. OMGUS-ERAD, Berlin expected to see *Länder* compliance with the policies established by the U.S. Military Government Regulation (MGR) 8-201.3, General Principles for Evaluation of Education Programs, dated 30 Nov 45, updated 14 Mar 47. Further, OMGUS-ERAD, Berlin directed that the *Länder*-level offices receive the plans by July 1947, review them, returning non-compliant plans to the German ministries for revision as needed, and finally, submit the plans to OMGUS-ERAD, Berlin for final approval.

The Caselmann Proposal drifted back and forth between the American and German agencies for several months -- by July 1947 not yet in conformity with OMGUS directives. No doubt out of frustration, MAJ Banks prepared a 14 Feb 48 response to Caselmann's chief, Minister Baeuerle at the *Kultusministerium*, noting:

The Caselmann plan is apparently designed to interfere as little as possible with existing administrative and structural arrangements, and to cause as little change as possible in the curriculum of the secondary school . . . we are positive that there will need to be a sharp reorganization of school structure if Germany's future educational needs are to be adequately met.⁴⁶²

The crux of MAJ Banks' rejection of the Caselmann Proposal focused on reorganization of school structures, restructure of curriculum and to a lesser degree, textbook rewrites. As MAJ

⁴⁶² OMGUS-Württemberg-Baden Letter to the Ministry of Culture for Württemberg-Baden, from Major Richard G. Banks, OMGUS-WB, ERAD, dtd 14 Feb 48, Subject: A Statement Concerning the Caselmann Proposal, Baden-Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart, OMGUS Fiche 12/94-3/1 3 of 7, 1.

Banks noted in his first point, OMGUS-WB presumed that school reform in Württemberg-Baden would include a six-year *Grundschule*. Further, MAJ Banks wrote:

It is our considered opinion that the six-year *Grundschule* is the needed vehicle for educational reorganization in W-B and elsewhere in Germany. . . . You are, of course, aware that despite some opposition the six-year *Grundschule* is planned for the other *Länder*. Although Württemberg-Baden should not be expected to follow slavishly the practices of other *Länder*, a sharp departure in a fundamental feature would certainly require careful explanation.⁴⁶³

MAJ Banks strengthened his argument with a quote from a 1 Dec 47 letter from Richard R. Alexander, Chief at OMGUS-ERAD, Berlin:

Attention is invited to paragraph four of [Allied Control Council] Directive No. 54. This paragraph specifically prohibits dual-or triple-track systems. In the American Zone, for the present, the six-year elementary school, *Grundschule*, will be established and no differentiation in curricula will be permitted during the first six years.⁴⁶⁴

The primary objection raised by the OMGUS- ERAD office to German proposals for school reform hinged on the German desire to retain the traditional German school system wherein by the fourth year of school, students, separated by specific academic criteria, proceeded to the *Oberschule* (*Gymnasium*), referred to in the above quote as a dual-track system. Further, differentiation, another objection of the OMGUS-ERAD, referred to decisions made as to which follow-on school a child would go to, e.g., a school leading to university attendance (*Oberschule*), or vocational training schools. Students not selected for *Oberschule* remained in the *Volksschule* for the eight-year program, preparing for a trade of some sort after *Volksschule* completion. OMGUS-ERAD based their objection on the method of selection for *Oberschule*, believing that class and money rather than ability and achievement determined which students would attend *Oberschule*, and thus have access to university-level education.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 1, 2.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 2.

MAJ Banks' second objection zeroed in on this process of differentiation. The Caselmann Proposal had presented a compromise: a four-year *Mittelstufe* (classes five through eight) after the first four *Grundschule* years with differentiation into three groups: intellectual-theoretical, intellectual-practical, and manual-practical. Caselmann's proposal allowed that all students would attend school through the eighth class, and that students would have the opportunity to move among the three groups. MAJ Banks objected to this proposal, suggesting that crossing over, if it actually occurred, would not work if differentiation had taken place between grades five and eight, as texts and curriculum focus would differ for each of the above options, rendering students who changed options, unprepared for the more strenuous *Oberschule* work. Banks wrote, "It is our opinion that the committee's plan would continue many of the features of the dual – or triple-track system, and would not satisfy the requirement for a single-track comprehensive system of consecutive levels."⁴⁶⁵

MAJ Banks' counter-proposed establishing a ninth school year, with the last three years functioning as a middle school (seventh, eighth and ninth), attended by all students, allowing for some differentiation in courses selected, depending on the career choices of the students. In summary, the essence of the OMGUS-ERAD proposal focused on a school system analogous to the American system: twelve grades, separated into a six-year elementary, three-year middle school and three-year high school program providing comprehensive education for all students with the possibility for students interested in technical skills to take technical courses during their twelve-year program. MAJ Banks' final argument against the Caselmann Proposal on this score read, "In all but your largest cities there should be the single comprehensive secondary school, offering several

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., 3.

specialized courses, including some of the vocational ones, and including an important core curriculum.”⁴⁶⁶

Sections of a later OMGUS-Württemberg-Baden (OMGUS-WB) ERAD report,⁴⁶⁷ in the summer, 1948 timeframe, discussed several other points germane to the school reform issue, the most important issue, teacher training. OMGUS-WB promoted the need for the *Kultusministerium* to establish a teacher training institution and curriculums, depending on teaching levels. Additionally OMGUS-WB encouraged the *Kultusministerium* to continuously “re-train and re-orient teachers already in service.”⁴⁶⁸ Generally, the *Länder* established emergency teacher training programs as soon as the military government authorities approved such schools to reopen, from July 1946-1947 and July 1947-1948, to increase available teachers to replace those under denazification procedures or permanently disqualified from teaching.

By the summer of 1948, MAJ John P. Steiner, the original chief of OMGUS-WB ERAD/ECAD, returned to the organization, replacing MAJ Banks. As Tent noted, MAJ Steiner inherited several issues facing the *Ländeskultusministerium* by the summer, 1948. First, the currency reform (June 1948) severely hampered executing any school reform plans, even if OMGUS approved the plans. Second, *Kultusminister* Bäuerle reminded MAJ Steiner, that opting for the American school reform scheme in the face of “the dismemberment of our two Länder, Württemberg-Baden, and the differing school policies of the [French and U. S.] occupation forces”⁴⁶⁹ could come back to haunt Württemberg-Baden in the near future [1949], as quiet discussions among *Landtag* politicians already indicated the possibility of a merger of the French and U. S. occupation zones. MAJ Steiner advised the Headquarters OMGUS-

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid. 4.

⁴⁶⁷ This partial report was not dated; located at the Baden-Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart, OMGUS Fiche 12/87-2/1 and 2/2.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 14.

⁴⁶⁹ Tent, *Mission on the Rhine, Reeducation and Denazification in American-Occupied Germany*, 232.

ECRD/ECAD Director, Alonzo Grace, “that he did not believe it would be wise to force the Allied Control Authority Directive 54 on Württemberg-Baden at this time.”⁴⁷⁰ It seems that MAJ Steiner’s advice was heeded.

3.3.2 School Reform in the other *Länder* in the U. S. Occupation Zone.

Land Hessen initially favored recommendations proposed by OMGUS to implement the 6-year elementary program. However, even in Hessen where the U. S. military government education specialists apparently came the closest to convincing German educators and *Kultusminister*, Erwin Stein (from 1947-1951), to restructure the *Land* Hessen school system along the lines of the American recommendations, Hessen never implemented the changes to its school structure. Coincidentally, in Hessen, pushback from German academics and *Landtag* officials began appearing in 1948, once it was clear that at least semi-sovereignty for Germany would not be long in coming. Likewise, *Land Bremen*, initially favoring changes, never implemented school structure reform. *Land Bayern*, like Württemberg-Baden, opposed OMGUS school restructuring recommendations.⁴⁷¹ Actually, the Bavarians offered the harshest criticisms to the American objectives.

3.4 Logistics Support to the School Reform Battle.

Staffs – OMGUS ERAD/ECAD and the various *Kultusministerien*, fought the main battle over school reform. However, the logistics effort in support of this battle was not insignificant – staff and logistics support personnel, technical assistance for exhibition presentations, transportation assets, fuel and time. The larger logistics effort involving personnel, for example,

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid. Tent cites the source: OMGUS, 85-1/6, box 304, Minutes, E&CR Directors’ meeting held in Stuttgart, 17-18 August 1948, 10.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 124. For a solid overview of OMGUS efforts to reform the school system in Bavaria, see Tent, *Mission on the Rhine*, 110-163, *Kulturkampf* in Bavaria; for Greater Hesse, 167-200; Bremen, 200-220; Württemberg-Baden, 220-238; Berlin, 238-250. I compiled my case study on Württemberg-Baden from OMGUS files and German documents.

in Fiscal Year 1947 (July 1946 through June 1947), entailed support arrangements (billeting, feeding, transportation) for the planned two hundred or so education and technical experts in various fields, brought to the Germany by OMGUS for two to four month periods.⁴⁷² Perhaps the most significant logistics effort in school reform was the supporting role in the textbook production process. Knappen's experience with reproducing textbooks for Aachen, while extraordinary, was replicated in simpler fashion throughout the U. S. occupation zone. The German teachers collected in Berlin for the textbook rewrite program, received benefits in Army-provided food, transportation, a warm work environment and professional assistance from American and German colleagues during their textbook writing experience. The U. S. Army scrounged and ordered paper, printing presses, and ink to reproduce edited and newly written textbooks. Over a four-month period, OMGUS monthly reports indicated a total of 56,936 metric tons of wood pulp delivered to German printing facilities.⁴⁷³ This pulp was not for the exclusive use of textbook printing, but some of the deliveries went in this direction. Additionally, the Army provided reams of paper to the German printing facilities during the occupation. Further, the Army shipped from its stateside installations to Germany thousands of texts as examples for rewrites, as new texts, or to provide updated information missing from the German Nazi experience. The Army hosted many educational specialists and consultants to work with German educators in rewriting textbooks and developing broader curriculums for the various levels of education.

3.5 Conclusions on School Reform.

According to OMGUS guidance, OMGUS staff agency personnel could only advocate for an American school philosophy and persuade German educators to adopt school structures

⁴⁷² OMGUS *Monthly Report* 16, (October 1946): 24.

⁴⁷³ OMGUS *Monthly Reports*, September 15, October 16, and December 18, 1946, February 20, 1947.

similar to the American system. While OMGUS never intended to (nor could) underwrite construction of a reformed German school system, it seems that several *Länder* ERAD officials, for example, MAJ Banks, interpreted the occupation mandate to require restructuring the German school system. Keller had accurately observed that official policy (from the Potsdam Protocol, to JCS 1067 and 1779) contradicted not only itself, but also official practice in the field. Further, OMGUS *Länder* staffs differed in execution of official policy: “Top-level policy insists that the Germans use their own boot straps to pull themselves out of the mental morass. Except in flagrant violations of Military Government orders, reforms are not to be ‘imposed’ lest they be labeled ‘undemocratic.’” Yet, Keller also added, “While it is a recognized fact, and certainly in the democratic tradition, that you cannot change peoples’ minds and habits by force, the very existence of the [military] Occupation, a natural sequel to the war, is a symbol of force and unless Military Government wishes to act solely in the role of a family visitor come what may, our objectives must be attained through whatever methods prove necessary.”⁴⁷⁴ However, this U. S. Foucault-ian exercise of power met an exchange mechanism in the German educators and politicians – patience and stalling. By 1948, it was quietly clear to most German officials that the military occupation would soon end – at least in the western German *Länder*.

This paradox was not lost on German educators. Despite almost four years of back-and-forth communication, advice, recommendations and even threats from the OMGUS education officials, U. S. officials did not convince Hessen, Württemberg-Baden, Bavaria or the Bremen Enclave to convert to an American-style school system. Even though the milder JCS 1779 stated that because “education is a primary means of creating a democratic and peaceful Germany, you will continue to encourage and assist in the development of education methods, institutions, programs and materials designed to further the creation of democratic attitudes and practices

⁴⁷⁴ Keller, “Germany – A Clinical Case,” *High Points in the Works of the High Schools of New York City*, 36.

through education, . . . it directed the U. S. military to “require the German *Länder* authorities to adopt and execute educational programs designed to develop a healthy, democratic educational system which will offer equal opportunity to all according to their qualifications.” There is a big difference between encourage, assist and require. It seems that Keller’s observations of OMGUS effectively changing at least the German school structure did indeed face enormous difficulties. The *Länder* ERAD offices did achieve some limited success when the *Kultusministerien* forged laws guaranteeing free public education (no tuition), and rewritten, current textbooks appeared in the schools. Even so, the major objective, structural school reform, failed.

4. *Amerikahäuser.*

A 1949 OMGUS-sponsored newspaper article offered the following optimistic assessment of the cultural initiative known as “America Houses:”

Amerika Haus has given thousands of *Heidelbergers* a chance to satisfy their curiosity about America in their own quiet, searching way. Many Germans distrust public meetings and like to read up on questions alone, undisturbed by crowds and noises. Heidelberg’s *Amerika Haus*, located near the university has given them this chance to sit down and read. *Amerika Haus* has also conducted a series of seminars on assorted topics. The latest seminar, held every Tuesday evening, discussed the press, and included American journalists, German reporters and editors, several German publishers, and members of the Military Government’s Press Section.⁴⁷⁵

Not only *Heidelbergers* enjoyed a “window to the West” through the *Amerikahäuser*. Two mini-libraries opened in July 1945, one in Marburg as a private initiative and the other, sponsored by the Psychological Warfare Branch, SHAEF (shortly after capitulation, renamed Information Control Division), in Bad Homburg -- small reading rooms with approximately 700 “well-worn volumes of educational and reference books, primarily from surplus Army

⁴⁷⁵ OMGUS-WB Files, 17-139-2/27. Presumably a newspaper article. No author shown on this file copy; date approximately 22 March 1949, 5-6.

stocks.”⁴⁷⁶ This embryonic foray into democratization grew to sixteen information centers (libraries) by November 1946, and twenty a year later, in the U. S. occupation zone. By January 1950, twenty-five information centers, 122 reading rooms and several bookmobiles had sprouted up throughout the U. S. occupation zone. Each information center averaged between 18,000 and 28,000 books and approximately 500 or more magazine and newspaper subscriptions, while the smaller reading rooms generally carried between 2,500 and 4,500 books and a smaller selection of periodicals and newspapers. Over time, German-language material comprised between 20-25% of the offerings. A typical American library concept of open shelves and no-fee borrowing prevailed throughout the life of these centers. According to OMGUS monthly reports, book circulation soared from almost 1.2 million in 1948 to approximately 1.7 million during the first half of 1949.⁴⁷⁷

What began as a Department of State brainchild in late 1944 under Archibald MacLeish and an executable project under the War Department in the first two or so years after German capitulation, centered on the libraries -- American books, frequent exhibits, films, concerts, lectures and informal discussions.⁴⁷⁸ As Karl-Ernst Bungenstab and others noted⁴⁷⁹ the importance of books – of their ability to influence – lay at the heart of the *Amerikahäuser*

⁴⁷⁶ Haynes R. Mahoney, “Windows to the West,” *Information Bulletin* (Office of the U. S. High Commissioner in Germany, Frankfurt: Public Affairs Division, U. S. Army, August 1950), 3-6. See also, Bungenstab, *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*, Band 16, “Entstehung, Bedeutungs- und Funktionswandel der Amerika-Häuser, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der amerikanischen Auslandsinformation nach dem 2. Weltkrieg,” 191.

⁴⁷⁷ “U. S. Information Centers,” *Information Bulletin*, (Office of the U. S. High Commissioner in Germany, Frankfurt: Public Affairs Division, U. S. Army, January 1950), 11. The numbers vary depending on source and time of report, but this source is still in the ballpark statistically.

⁴⁷⁸ Henry P. Pilgert, *The History of the Development of Information Services through Information Centers and Documentary Film*, (Bad Godesberg: Historical Division, Office of the Executive Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for Germany, 1951), Introduction, 1-4. Interestingly, Archibald MacLeish, poet, Nobel Prize winner and Librarian of Congress (1939-1944), as the Assistant Secretary for a newly created Public and Cultural Affairs branch within the State Department (Dec 1944-Aug 1945), and his successor, William Benton (Mar 48-Nov 49), campaigned to assume responsibility for the information and cultural relations programs overseas. However, the Army’s Psychological Warfare Branch, later Information Control (Service) Division (ICD/ISD), assumed responsibility for the Information Centers until the Allied High Commission for Occupied Germany took over this mission after 21 September 1949.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 22-32.

libraries and reading rooms. Further, the ICD, as noted above, controlled all publications – printing as well as distribution and marketing --especially of books. Absent the *Amerikahäuser*, English-language reading material, outside of private collections, was scarce. Significantly, as Bungenstab noted, “*Diese Kontrolle, d.h. der Wert, dem[sic] man dem Buch als einem Informationsmittel zumaß, wirft ein bezeichnendes Licht auf die Bedeutung der Amerika-Häuser und der Reading Rooms, deren Aufbau in den Jahren der Militärregierung intensiv betrieben wurde.*” (The control, the value that books have as an information medium demonstrates the particular importance of the *Amerikahäuser* and the Reading Rooms which the military government devoted years in intensely building up.)⁴⁸⁰

As with school reform, reeducation/reorientation of the German public became the U. S. military government’s penultimate mission after German capitulation in pursuit of the democratization process. However, the direction of this mission changed in mid-stream. Initially, accomplishment of this mission involved (among other things) indoctrination in democracy directed toward cultural and educational fields through all mass communications instruments, censored by the OMGUS-Information Control Division. Known officially as a program in the U. S. military government’s Information Control Division (formerly Psychological Warfare Division), under “Military Government Information Services,” the *Amerikahäuser* engaged in democratic reeducation of the German people by disseminating information about the western democracies and especially the United States. Initially, the basis of American planning for these information centers was to return Germany to the international community of civilized nations. To reach this lofty goal required more than simple structural changes in German government, rather, also a change in German mentality and behavior/conduct

⁴⁸⁰ Bungenstab, *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*, Band 16 (1971), “Entstehung, Bedeutungs- und Funktionswandel der Amerika-Häuser, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der amerikanischen Auslandsinformation nach dem 2. Weltkrieg,” 193.

(Bungenstab's terms, *Verhalten und Denken*⁴⁸¹). One should see the early establishment of *Amerikahäuser* in this light – a tool of the U. S. military government in its pursuit toward reeducation. This early concept altered after 1947.

Pilgert refers to an ongoing Congressional debate over “misunderstanding and willful misrepresentation of the United States which they [U.S. Congressional members visiting Europe in 1947] found abroad,”⁴⁸² culminating in passage of the U. S. Information and Education Act of 1948 (Smith-Mundt Act), that empowered the State Department to broaden the scope of its foreign information program. At the same time, in response to increasing Soviet anti-American propaganda particularly in Germany, General Clay, on 25 October 1947, authorized the OMGUS-ICD “to attack Communism in every form wherever it existed and to cite each exposed example of its day-to-day work. We still would not attack governments or individuals; we would not sling mud, but we would no longer refrain from exposing Communist tactics and purposes,”⁴⁸³ a policy referred to by some as Operation BACK-TALK. Neither were isolated incidents.

The year, 1947, might be called the “over-the-hump” year initiating the outwardly downward slide in the Soviet-American relationship as regarded Germany, as witnessed at the two somewhat acerbic councils of Foreign Ministers (April and December 1947), the entry of the U. S. and Britain into Bizonia, as well as a host of other foreign policy decisions and actions. As important as these events were, the publication of JSC 1779 heralded officially a tectonic shift in U. S. Government activities and policies toward the U. S. occupation zone in Germany, from

⁴⁸¹ Bungenstab, *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*, Band 16, “Entstehung, Bedeutungs- und Funktionswandel der Amerika-Häuser, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der amerikanischen Auslandsinformation nach dem 2. Weltkrieg,” 190

⁴⁸² Pilgert, *The History of the Development of Information Services through Information Centers and Documentary Films*, 2-3.

⁴⁸³ Clay, *Decision in Germany*, 158. General Clay did not use the term, Operation BACK-TALK.

control to “guidance and leadership.” This shift reverberated through the ICD, particularly in areas and missions directly relating to the German population – the *Amerikahäuser* one of several prime targets. Increasingly, the *Amerikahäuser* offered programs countering Communist propaganda, by familiarizing “Germans with the democratic institutions within the United States . . . [With] the establishment of ideas and attitudes desired by the United States; and the reorientation of specific German ideas and attitudes along lines compatible with United States policy.”⁴⁸⁴

The Directive to Commander-in-Chief of United States Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany, JCS 1779 and MGR Title 21-800, Change 4, called for development of the *Amerikahäuser* into full-scale Information Centers “for the operation of media of information, including those sponsored by Military Government, designed to further the objectives of your Government.”⁴⁸⁵ Of note, for the first time, official U. S. Government policy for the military government in Germany used the terms, cultural reconstruction and reorientation, rather than reeducation in the Directive to the Commander in Chief of U. S. Forces of Occupation. Further, MGR Title 21, Change 4, Section 800, directed Information Control personnel to “Plan and carry out overt activities designed to further the democratic reorientation of Germany, and to foster the assimilation of the German people into the society of peaceful nations through the revival of international cultural relations. Such activities will include [among others] creation, operation and maintenance of libraries and information centers.”⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸⁴ Pilgert, *The History of the Development of Information Services through Information Centers and Documentary Films*, 3; Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Transmission Impossible: American Journalism as Cultural Diplomacy in Postwar Germany 1945-1955*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 7, 79-94.

⁴⁸⁵ Cassidy, “Directive to the Commander of the U.S. Forces of Occupation,” *Germany 1947-1949, The Story in Documents*, Section VI, paragraph 22, Cultural Objectives, and paragraph 26, Public Information, 40-41.

⁴⁸⁶ Headquarters, United States Forces European Theater, Office of Military Government, Military Government Regulations, Title 21, Section 800, Change 4, 17 September 1947. For the development of *Amerikahäuser*, see Office of the U. S. High Commissioner in Germany, *Information Bulletin*, (Frankfurt: Public Affairs Division, U. S. Army, January 1950), 10-16.

By 1947, *Amerikahaus* stuck as the official name for these libraries that had expanded to cultural and information centers providing lectures, concerts, documentary films, language classes, presentations and displays. By the end of the U. S. military occupation in September 1949, twenty-eight *Amerikahäuser*, one hundred thirty six *Amerikahäuser*-sponsored Reading Rooms and several Bookmobiles operated within the U. S. occupation zone.⁴⁸⁷

Logistics support as well as funding for this program during the military occupation rested with the U. S. Army – specifically, with each OMGUS-*Land* Director and the military posts in which the facilities functioned.⁴⁸⁸ As Karl-Ernst Bungenstab wrote, “*Die physische Erhaltung der Amerika-Häuser – Gebäude, Reparaturen, Heizmaterial, Büromaterial und Transport – oblag der nächstliegenden militärischen Einheit der amerikanischen Armee, in deren Bereich das jeweilige Amerika-Haus lag.*” (Essentially, logistic support, to include building, repair, heating, office materials and transportation, e.g., bookmobiles, for each *Amerikahaus* resided with the closest military unit to that *Amerikahaus*.)⁴⁸⁹ How much of these expenses was paid through U. S. Government appropriated funds, or through occupation costs billed to each German *Land* is difficult to say.⁴⁹⁰ However, U. S. Army logistics support definitely provided physical support, i.e., book donations from stateside Army libraries, ground transportation to and from the European ports for materiel and resupply, as well as administrative assistance to the information centers.

Measuring the success of the *Amerikahäuser* as vehicles of cultural transmission is difficult. On the one hand, this project escaped much of the early control aspects witnessed in

⁴⁸⁷ Cassidy, *Germany 1947-1949, the Story in Documents*, “Information Centers: Military Government Regulations, Title 21, Part 6, April 5, 1949,” 608.

⁴⁸⁸ Although not cited specifically as *Amerika Haus* before 1947, MGR, Change 4, actually gave rise to the term.

⁴⁸⁹ Bungenstab, “Entstehung, Bedeutungs-und Funktionswandel der Amerika-Häuser, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der amerikanischen Auslandsinformation nach dem 2. Weltkrieg,” *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*, Band 16, 195.

⁴⁹⁰ Pilgert, *The History of the Development of Information Services through Information Centers and Documentary Films*, 18-20.

other reorientation venues that created in many Germans' minds the paradox noted by many researchers: that a democracy, through undemocratic means was forcing democracy on Germans. Further, as Bungenstab quoted from an OMGUS presentation in 1948, "*Keine Besatzungsarmee in der Geschichte hat jemals erfolgreich einem anderen Volk ein dauerhaftes System von Kultur und Bildung zwangsweise übergestülpt.*" (No occupation army in history has successfully forced another People to permanently accept its culture and education system.)⁴⁹¹ Quite the opposite, Germans visited the *Amerikahäuser* voluntarily. On the other hand, according to OMGUS surveys from March 1948, only "one of every 100 adult Germans in the American Zone had visited an *Amerika Haus* . . . More than nine out of ten in AMZON claimed to know nothing about them."⁴⁹² Another survey in five German cities (West Berlin, Bremen, Frankfurt, Nuremberg and Stuttgart), from July and September 1948, suggested that apparently through increased newspaper articles and radio reporting and discussions, "52 % in West Berlin and 74% in Nuremberg knew that there was an *Amerika Haus* in their city." Further, "four in ten of the total adult population in each of the five cities could mention specific things offered there."⁴⁹³ Significantly, the common thread woven through both surveys suggested that the predominant user of *Amerikahäuser* was not the average German citizen.

One in three was a high school or university graduate (compared with 4 percent of the general population). The information center visitor was far more likely than the general population to be a professional man, well off financially, active politically, and young. Only 18 percent had no knowledge of the English language (86 percent nationwide). Two in five (compared with 17 percent nationwide) had contact with someone in the United States, and 7 percent (2 percent nationally) had been to America.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹¹ Bungenstab, *Umerziehung zur Demokratie? Re-education-Politik im Bildungswesen der US-Zone 1945-1949*, 139. Bungenstab's source: Office of Military Government for Germany (U. S.), Education and Cultural Relations Division, *Educational Reconstruction in Germany*, Berchtesgaden Conference, 7-12 October 1948.

⁴⁹² Merritt and Merritt, eds., *Public Opinion in Occupied Germany, the OMGUS Surveys, 1945-1949*, Report No. 102, 215.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., Report No. 145. 265.

⁴⁹⁴ Richard L. Merritt, *Democracy Imposed, U. S. Occupation Policy and the German Public, 1945-1949* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 284-285.

Although not mentioned in these surveys or most material written about the success of *Amerikahäuser* as cultural transmitters, one should consider the environmental and social factors of the times. First, the majority of Germans in the U. S. occupation zone lived outside the major cities where the majority of the *Amerikahäuser* were located and most likely had few transportation possibilities available to them to visit an *Amerikahaus*. Further, the majority of Germans focused on food, housing and available work at least until after the currency reform in 1948. In addition, lack of English language skills probably discouraged many Germans from seeking out the information centers. Nonetheless, for at least a small group of Germans, the U. S. High Commissioner's Office estimated approximately 3.25 million Germans older than 15 years of age (in 1954), had visited the *Amerikahäuser* in their region. According to the report, only three percent of the visitors evaluated the information centers negatively.⁴⁹⁵ If the survey results are valid, one could conclude that this aspect of the U. S. occupation's cultural policy had fulfilled its objectives.

5. The Army Assistance Program to German Youth Activities (GYA).⁴⁹⁶

A U. S. Army publication boasted in 1951 that contact between the U. S. forces, military and civilian, their family members, and German youth through the German Youth Activities (GYA), "brought hundreds of American soldiers and civilians into direct contact not only with German young people but with their German adult youth leaders, [presenting] one of the few

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ The single official source for the German Youth Activities Program is *The U. S. Armed Forces German Youth Activities Program 1945-1955*, published by the Historical Division, Headquarters, United States Army, Europe, Heidelberg, 1956, and represents a compilation of material from each of Occupation Forces in Europe Series annual reports. Throughout the military government phase of the occupation, articles on youth activities programs appeared in the OMGUS monthly reports.

bright spots in a picture darkened by extensive fraternization for material gain or other selfish reasons.”⁴⁹⁷

Even before the war ended, American soldiers encountered the German children in the streets of the villages, towns and cities through which they maneuvered. The adults kept their distance but the children were curious. A study by two sociologists claimed:

The small children who frequently clustered about the soldiers during halts in towns and villages caught the soldier's attention and often his sympathy. Many soldiers enjoyed the smiles that came to the faces of the children when they were given candy, chewing gum, and bits of food from the military rations. Broken and hesitatingly shy efforts at conversation and games soon followed the handouts of candy and food. From some such spontaneous beginnings developed the first concerted actions by which American military personnel befriended German youth. Probably without realizing it, let alone without being trained or prepared for it, these men [and later some women, as the WACs and family members also joined in the effort] were dealing with one of the many formidable social problems emerging from the chaos of war.⁴⁹⁸

The SHAEF official non-fraternization policy of 12 September 1944 prohibited even contact with German children. However, even as the official history of the GYA program later noted, “no amount of reorientation or regimentation could convince the soldier of the soundness of this policy, especially as it related to children. Widespread violation of the non-fraternization policy began with the establishment of friendly relations between American soldiers and German children.”⁴⁹⁹ Few German children, at least in the American zone, cannot remember the *Schokolade* (most like Hersheys) *und Kaugummi*, or their first English words, “T (h)ank you.” Only a month after capitulation, on 8 June 1945, General Eisenhower, as Commander, U. S. Forces in the European Theater (USFET), modified this policy to allow U. S. troops to associate

⁴⁹⁷ Margaret L. Geis and George J. Gray, Jr., *The Relations of Occupation Personnel with the Civil Population, 1946-1948*, Occupation Forces in Europe Series, 1946-48 (Karlsruhe: Historical Division, European Command, 1951), 46.

⁴⁹⁸ Historical Division, Headquarters, United States Army, Europe, *The U. S. Armed Forces German Youth Activities Program, 1945-1955* (Heidelberg: U. S. States Army, Europe, August 1956), 1.

⁴⁹⁹ Historical Division, Headquarters, United States Army, Europe, *The U. S. Armed Forces German Youth Activities Program 1945-1955*, 4.

with German children. Shortly thereafter, USFET extended the modification to allow troops to engage with Germans, excepting known Nazi elements, albeit in public locations. So it went, one chip after another from an unenforceable policy that was finally officially cancelled effective 1 October 1945.⁵⁰⁰

As U. S. Army units settled, at least temporarily, in towns and villages, contacts with Germans – especially the children, increased. The *OMGUS Military Government Monthly Report No. 4*, 20 November 1945, under Education, Religion and Welfare, applauded the voluntary undertaking by numerous service members engaged in German youth activities, referring to this undertaking as a “remarkable picture of spontaneous instruction in democracy through the media of sports, games and the development of the spirit of sportsmanship and tolerance.” The monthly report cited two activities, at the “Ike” Stadium, within the Bremen Enclave, today’s Weser Stadium, a kite contest in which approximately 1,500 children participated, and a soccer competition between young Germans from several inactive Bremen soccer clubs and a team of Scottish military personnel from Oldenburg that drew about 12,000 spectators. The German young adults won the game.

Dependent on an organization or agency point of view – the military police and Constabulary wanted to reduce juvenile delinquency, educators and senior leaders recognized that these youth represented the German future and were thus a prime target for reorientation, while unit commanders, saw this as a great opportunity to engage bored service members in a worthwhile cause. U. S. Seventh Army decided to formalize soldier-youth associations within its Western Military District by issuing instructions, 25 October 1945, on establishment of German

⁵⁰⁰ The official non-fraternization policy was a U. S. Army policy in Germany. JCS 1067 had not forbidden fraternization in Germany, only discouraged it. See JCS 1067, Part I, 4b: “In the conduct of your occupation and administration you should be just but firm and aloof. You will strongly discourage fraternization with the German officials and population.”

youth agencies. This action apparently caused friction at the U. S. Group Control Council (USGCC) in Berlin as early as September 1945, when the Seventh Army informally championed the soldier-youth connection in its letter to the Western Military District military units. The USGCC perceived this program to be a violation of at least U. S. official occupation policy – “that the Germans themselves [be] responsible for such activity,” as well as a violation of the non-fraternization policy. However, at the time, at least one enthusiastic staff member at USFET noted:

With soldiers as youth leaders, the Germans can learn what American sportsmanship is, and why we think and act as we do; that we are not as superficial as so many Continentals seem to think, but that our kind of training and living has produced something which is called American democracy – a commodity which cannot be sold to the Germans in any other way except demonstration. One of the most effective means of achieving international amity and understanding in the past has been through the medium of sports and other similar mutual activities.⁵⁰¹

As the passage of time often clears up disagreements, USFET published *Military Government Regulation, Title 8, Part 7 – Youth and Recreational Activities*, by 30 November 1945, making the formation of GYA organizations legitimate and official across the U. S. occupation zone.

Local *Jugendämter* and various youth movements in Germany date back to the early 20th century. The *Hitlerjugend* organization preempted both the *Jugendämter* and any youth movements or organizations still functioning after 1933. At the beginning of the military occupation, the U. S. military government had forbidden consolidated organization of youth groups above the *Kreis* level to deter reforming a youth group that might have mirrored the *Hitlerjugend* – a highly centralized organization under the Nazi regime.⁵⁰² Therefore, initially,

⁵⁰¹ USFET *Weekly Information Bulletin* 16, “Occupation Troops and Youth Activities,” (10 November 1945): 17.

⁵⁰² This restriction was written into the *Allied Control Council Directive No. 23, Limitation and Demilitarization of Sport in Germany*, 17 December 1945. Directive No. 23 pertained to all athletic organizations within Germany, not only the youth groups, and required the disbanding, effective 1 January 1946, of all sport and military or para-

under the new military regulation, the *Jugendamt* (Youth Administration) in a German *Kreis* interested in establishing youth groups filed an application with the local U. S. military government Civil Affairs detachment. *Jugendämter* sprang up in most local cities and *Kreise* relatively soon after the capitulation, and the administrators were no strangers to organizing youth activities. Reorganizing youth committees posed no problem, and according to an OMGUS tally,⁵⁰³ by December 1946 every *Kreis* in the three *Länder* had established a youth committee. Without funds or much equipment, these youth committees, even with local U. S. military government approval, required some logistical support to engage actively in establishing programs.

U. S. military government authorities forbade any type of group uniform and emblem without prior approval and certain activities such as drilling, marching or para-military training, and engagement in political activity. Change 4, 14 March 1947 to MGR Title 8, Part 7 modified the last activity to allow German political parties to sponsor and assist youth groups so long as the focus of the youth groups, whose members ranged between the ages of 10 and 25 years, remained cultural, religious and and/or recreational. “Youth activities will have as its purposes the constructive use of leisure time, the prevention of delinquency, and, on the positive side, the promotion of the political and moral reorientation of German youth toward democracy and peace.”⁵⁰⁴

Many of the *Kreise* in the U. S. occupation zone established youth committees staffed by a range of German professionals – educators, clergy and city officials, upon receiving approval

military athletic organizations in existence prior to capitulation. Reactivation of any such organizations required application through the local U. S. military government detachments.

⁵⁰³ Historical Division, Headquarters, United States Army, Europe, *The U. S. Armed Forces German Youth Activities Program 1945-1955*, 8.

⁵⁰⁴ Headquarters, United States Forces European Theater, Office of Military Government, *Military Government Regulations*, Title 8, Part 7, Section 8-710.1, Change 3, 14 March 1947.

from the *Land* U. S. military government detachment. Seventh Army urged U. S. tactical troops and military government detachments located near organizing *Kreis* youth groups to coordinate with the local *Kreis* in sponsoring these youth groups. Although activities initially focused on sports, motion picture showings and youth festivals joined the menu of activities. According to the *OMGUS Monthly Report, No. 5*, 20 December 1945, membership numbers soared, e.g., Pforzheim reported 1,000 members, Stuttgart, 11,000, Esslingen, 1,000, Heilbronn, 6,000. Frankly, these numbers seem high and they do not necessarily reflect regular participation, nor motive for participating. The locations, however, represent a pattern – these youth groups flourished most often in urban areas.

Of all the activities under the ERAD/ECAD directorate, group activities and specifically, the German Youth Activities organization, required the most U. S. Army logistics-intensive support until the U. S. High Commission turned over operational management to the *Jugendämter* by 1954-1955. During the second occupation year, 1946-1947, 250 officers and 600 enlisted men devoted full time duty to German Youth Activities that included operation of activities at youth community centers, sponsoring discussion groups on topics of interest, organization of social events, motion picture programs, athletic contests, dramatic productions, handcraft activities, outdoor activities and a sundry of other activities. At the height of the U. S. military government program, 800 military personnel, along with over 9,000 American and 2,400 German volunteers supported GYA activities.⁵⁰⁵ The Army units provided facilities, to include the craft and maintenance shops, for the GYA at no cost, allowing for year-round activities for the groups.

⁵⁰⁵ Historical Division, Headquarters, United States Army, Europe, *The U. S. Armed Forces German Youth Activities Program 1945-1955*, 34; Geis and Gray, Jr., *The Relations of Occupation Personnel with the Civil Population, 1946-1948*, Chart 4.

While Army Headquarters directed personnel to work with the GYA program, it had not allocated funding for material and equipment. Offsetting program costs against the Occupation Fund created antagonism with German residents who were already paying taxes to support the *Kreis* youth groups. Regardless, the Army found ways to support the program: first, the Army turned over confiscated *Wehrmacht* equipment to the *Kreis* groups. Second, the Army assigned much of the excess equipment stocked by USFET Special Service to support the pre-redeployment Army to the GYA program, e.g., thousands of basketballs, table tennis balls and decks of cards. In the early months of 1947, the Army delivered an additional 1200 tons of excess Army materials valued at over \$2 million that included camping supplies such as cots, blankets, tents, mess kits and athletic equipment, to the various youth groups.⁵⁰⁶ With the confiscated and excess material sources exhausted, Army units loaned equipment to the GYA groups they sponsored. Slowly, with the arrival of American families, Army wives, noticing the absence of girls' groups, volunteered to work with the WAC personnel assigned to develop this facet of the GYA program.

Paradoxically, according to Anna and Richard Merritt, who examined membership and awareness of the GYA program in February and April 1947, between 11 and 13 percent of the youth participated in GYA activities, and up to 55 percent of the adults were aware of the program. While the GYA program received positive marks from participants and parents alike, only a small percentage of youth actually participated. Further, when queried about the objectives of the program, 41% of the participants' parents "responded that the programs kept the children off the streets," while 19% commented that the programs "provided free-time

⁵⁰⁶ OMGUS *Monthly Report* Number 22, (1 May to 30 April 1947): 37-39.

activities.”⁵⁰⁷ In March 1947,⁵⁰⁸ surveyors asked 1,021 boys and girls between 10 and 18 years, living in Frankfurt, Kassel, Heidelberg and Munich, why they participated in GYA activities.

The Merritt survey results follow below.

Reasons for Participation in GYA Activities

• Get candy and food	40%
• Chance for sports and games	26
• Show our former enemies what Germans really are like	23
• Learn English	17
• Get to know some Americans	10
• Learn about America from some soldiers	9
• Learn about democracy	6
• Have a change	6
• Occupy leisure time	5
• Learn how democratic organizations are run	3
• Other reasons	2
• Program has no value for me	11
TOTAL (multiple responses permitted)	158%

No doubt, the irony of a military organization sponsoring German youth organizations and activities forbidden from having any link to military or para-military training or activities was not lost on German youth groups, civilian administrators and many German parents.

However, as small as participation by German youth might have been, surely a few benefited from the GYA program. Further, working with the German youth probably topped the list of rewarding activities for those service members privileged to be involved with the GYA.

Ironically, although an inspired and instinctive idea at its onset, reorienting the German mentality through the youth via sports and related activities, with Americans as role models, the German Youth Activities program was perhaps doomed from the start. Firstly, military

⁵⁰⁷ Merritt, *Democracy Imposed*, 278-282.

⁵⁰⁸ Merritt and Merritt, *Public Opinion in Occupied Germany, The OMGUS Surveys, 1945-1949*, Report No. 56, 155-157.

personnel worked with the program voluntarily initially, and later on assignment. However, authorized funding required authorized slots and the War Department never authorized the slots.

Second, without official funding, the organizations ultimately had to rely on donations, non-appropriated fund allocations and non-occupational budget funds (also known after 1948 as *Deutsche Mark* funds). This last item caused no end of grief with many Germans as fundamentally, this meant obligatory German taxes paying for a U. S. Army organization – the GYA, especially when the local *Kreise* had their own youth program organizations.

Third, the GYA concept also had its opponents within the U. S. military government – the principal opponent being Alonzo Grace, OMGUS ECAD Director. According to the author of *The U. S. Armed Forces German Youth Activities Program 1945-1955* (p. 43), Grace “regarded GYA as just a program to give Coca-Cola and candy to German children.” Further, according to the same source (44), in an effort to close down the GYA program, Grace noted that under The Hague and Geneva Conventions, using non-occupation funds for the GYA program might be illegal. That line of argument eventually fell apart under a EUCOM barrage arguing that the program “fulfilled a need of the Army of Occupation . . . as the program had been initiated primarily as a practical method of assuring greater security for the occupying forces by reducing juvenile delinquency among the local population.”⁵⁰⁹ However, shortly, the newly semi-sovereign German government established a baseline occupation fund that was not robust enough to finance all the U. S. HICOM desired programs. GYA fell under the ax, particularly because the local German youth organizations had always perceived GYA as a duplication of effort, but mostly because the U. S. could not, or would not fund the program.

⁵⁰⁹ A sentiment portrayed in an early segment of Billy Wilder’s “A Foreign Affair,” released by Universal Studios in 1948.

6. U. S. Army Logistics in support of OMGUS Educational and Cultural Programs.

The U. S. Army had a cartel-like monopoly over many aspects of logistic support in occupied Germany – at least in its zone and Berlin sector, if not in some specific logistic aspects, e.g., transportation and food provisions, throughout occupied Western Germany. In almost all cases of reeducation/reorientation, the U.S. Army provided much of the logistics to support cultural programs, particularly early in the occupation while German administration and logistics systems recovered from the war destruction, and American occupation controls were still the strictest. Several examples of support follow, but hardly account for the day-by-day support rendered for the duration of the occupation, military and civilian.

In May 1946, forty-one (41) U. S. Army 2 ½-ton trucks delivered from the Bremerhaven ports to Württemberg-Baden, 3,500 wooden crates containing over 320,000 books. In the following October, the U. S. Army transported from Bremerhaven to Württemberg-Baden thirteen (13) rail boxcars carrying 3,900 wooden crates loaded with approximately 400,000 books and 63 tons of pulped paper. In November 1946, the U. S. Army transported in eighteen (18) rail boxcars 5,400 wooden crates containing approximately 520,000 books. Partial distribution of these texts follows:⁵¹⁰

Type of Institution	Number in Württemberg-Baden	Number of Copies
Universities & colleges	11	18,000
Teacher Training colleges	11	36,000
Secondary schools	125	103,000
Vocational schools	125	35,000
German Educational offices	31	19,000
Miscellaneous agencies	27	10,500
Civil Censorship Division		1,000
American Library		500
Internment Camp 74		300
Pulping Program		550,000

⁵¹⁰ Baden-Württemberg Staatshauptarchiv, OMGUS Microfiche, OMGUS, Württemberg-Baden, 12/87-2/7, 3 of 3, 1 Jul 46-30 Jun 47.

The Smithsonian Institution, the Friends Service Committee, the Charlotte city and Mecklenburg County, North Carolina Book Aid Committee, and various women's clubs of Colorado, Michigan and Illinois organized several magazine and book donation drives, shipping 18 ½ tons of educational materials for distribution to Württemberg-Baden. During the quarter, July through September 1948, approximately 7,741-crated books and 3,995-crated magazines arrived, moved through the U. S. Army supply chain to Württemberg-Baden, wherein U. S. Army personnel distributed the material to various schools, as requested by the *Land Kultusministerium*.⁵¹¹

The continuous import of paper and bookbinding material from the United States, through Bremerhaven by the U. S. Army greatly improved textbook and educational materials production. This materiel remained in short supply until the currency reform in 1948. According to OMGUS-WB, ERAD/EDAD, because of these deliveries, publishers in Württemberg produced the following textbooks and related school materials, representing 37 percent of textbook production in the U. S. occupation zone from the summer 1945 through September 1948.⁵¹²

School Level	New textbooks printed in 1948⁵¹³	Copies	Total Titles printed between Summer 1945 and September 1948	Total Copies
Elementary	4	199,000	58	2,957,750
Secondary	15	101,800	83	672,250
Vocational	6	31,000	41	315,200
For teachers	2	11,000	6	26,000
Totals for 1948	27	342,000	8	29,000
Totals for period			196	4,000,200

⁵¹¹ Baden-Württemberg Staatshauptarchiv, OMGUS Microfiche, OMGUS, Württemberg-Baden, 12/87-2/2, undated report, 44.

⁵¹² Ibid., 12/87-2/1. Incomplete report with no date, but from content, presumably after September 1948, but prior to May 1949, 26-27.

⁵¹³ By 1948, evaluation of new textbooks had devolved from OMGUS Headquarters down to OMGUS *Länder*-level organizations. Textbook evaluation was definitely personnel-intensive.

A little known logistics mission of the U. S. Army involved not only producing films, particularly documentary films, but also running film centers for U. S. produced film as part of the official reorientation program. The ICD/ICS Division's Motion Picture Branch, responsible not only for determining which films could be played in German cinemas in the U. S. occupation zone and sector, but also, early in the occupation, in producing appropriate films for German consumption. Both missions were logistics intensive as U. S. occupation personnel provided not only film production personnel but also often technical assistance, film supplies and film projectors.

U. S. Army engineer support early in the occupation rehabilitated two production facilities critical for this work at Berlin-Tempelhof and in Munich. U. S. civilian film experts, some in uniform, working with cleared German film production specialists, were able by February 1947 to provide dubbing of German language tracks on fifty feature films annually. The Motion Picture Branch produced a number of documentaries to "explain U. S. occupation policies as well as to persuade Germans to adopt for themselves the principles of democratic life,"⁵¹⁴ for example, *Storm* and *It Looks Like Rain*. By 1949, the branch had produced 18 documentary films, fourteen adapted for German cinemas, with eighty-nine documentary films projected for use at the U. S. Information Centers, and fifty-nine films to German schools and universities. Seventeen of these films represented American educational and cultures issues and programs, thirteen, agriculture and related issues, and sixteen in general categories displaying American democratic institutions and contributions to the war recovery efforts.⁵¹⁵ In addition to

⁵¹⁴ Office of the High Commissioner for the German Office of Public Affairs, Public Relations Division, *Information Bulletin* (January 1950): 63. Accessed 1 September 2012
<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.omg1950JanSpec>

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

synchronizing language on U. S. films, the production teams also synchronized French and British films for German audiences.

Not only were documentary films synchronized and presented to the German public. Noted in the OMGUS Report of Military Government, October 1948, these joint American-German teams had produced five popular fairy tales, presumably for children: *Frau Holle*, *Rotkäppchen*, *Glückwein*, *Das verzauberte Tüchlein* and *Ein Faß voll Spaß*.⁵¹⁶ Further, the report noted that among the favorite films received by adult German audiences, *Flame of New Orleans*, *Together Again*, *To Each his Own*, *The Two-faced Woman*, *The Lodger*, and *the Song of Bernadette*, the last film set attendance records in German movie theaters on all showings in the U. S. occupation zone.⁵¹⁷ Interestingly, the *Song of Bernadette* was based on the 1941 novel by Franz Werfel, an Austrian-Bohemian émigré, who fled Austria in 1938, eventually settling in Los Angeles. Noteworthy, by October 1948, 1,510 German cinemas operated in the U. S. occupied zone and sector.

Procuring, repairing and running projectors, transformers, and cycling films around the movie theaters within the U. S. occupation zone also kept the Army crews busy. During the three-month period, June to August 1948, in Württemberg-Baden, 1,667 film showings, using two copies each of twenty-eight (28) films, were shown to 147,581 German civilians in twenty (20) *Kreise*. Of the eighty-three (83) projectors on hand, only forty-three (43) functioned due to the shortage of both functional transformers and projectionists. This mission required intensive commitment of personnel, equipment and financial support.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁶ Respectively, in English, Mother Hulda, Little Red-riding Hood, The Lucky Pig, The Enchanted Cloth, A Barrel of Fun.

⁵¹⁷ OMGUS Report of the Military Governor. No. 40 (October 1948): 30.

⁵¹⁸ Baden-Württemberg Staatshauptarchiv, OMGUS Microfiche, OMGUS, Württemberg-Baden, 12/87-2/1. Incomplete report with no date, but from content, presumably after September 1948, but prior to May 1949, 30.

During the final quarter of Fiscal Year 1948 (March-June), the American Friends Service Committee announced that they would sponsor fifteen secondary schools in Württemberg-Baden to assist with provision of educational and cultural materials.⁵¹⁹ Additionally, during the same period, U. S. National Education Association sent 190 CARE packages for needy teachers in Württemberg-Baden. U. S. Army personnel transported the packages from the Bremerhaven ports and arranged for distribution to designated German recipients.

What most Americans probably remember about occupation Germany and American largesse to the German communities, aside from CARE packages, are the Christmas parties arranged throughout the U. S. occupation zone and the U. S Berlin sector for the German children. General Clay commented on both the unit-level and GYA sponsored Christmas parties and particularly Operation SANTA CLAUS during Christmas, 1948, in Berlin, in which Berlin Airlift pilots dropped thousands of Christmas packages for the children in Berlin.⁵²⁰

German Youth Activities, through clubs, discussion groups, and the development of a cooperative attitude between Americans and Germans – have had a particularly active career in Heidelberg. Last Christmas, for instance, aided considerably by GYA contribution of toys and candy, became the best that many little Heidelbergers have has since 1942.⁵²¹

Staff members of the OMGUS *Länder* ERAD offices, as part of their mission to manage the official reorientation program, travelled throughout the region making many appearances at public meetings of German teachers, parents and laypersons. In connection with the opening of the American School Practices exhibit, prepared by OMGUS-ERAD/ECAD, staff members informed the German public about the American school system functions and structure, as part of the OMGUS-ERAD/ECAD bid to convince Germans to reform their own school structures in

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 22-23.

⁵²⁰ Clay, *Decision in Germany*, 278-9.

⁵²¹ Untitled report from the U. S. Army in Europe Headquarters in Heidelberg, Baden-Württemberg Staatsarchiv, OMGUS Microfiche 17-139-2-27, Report Number 765045, 22 March 1949, 6.

the American image. This represented another personnel and equipment-intensive mission for the U. S. Army.

The OMGUS *Land* ERAD/ECAD expanded its service to the German teaching community through establishment of Educational Service Centers (ESC), one in Stuttgart, another in Karlsruhe and a third center planned for Heidelberg. While the concept revolved around the teaching community and other professionals, the ESCs did not restrict use to these groups; however, the majority of their material targeted these groups. The Stuttgart ESC reported an inventory of close to 5,000 professional books, 350 professional journals donated from sources in the United States, Switzerland, Great Britain, France and the Scandinavian countries, many books and journals in German and French. Additionally, the ESC reported regular use by approximately 400 readers weekly in Stuttgart and about half that many at the ESC in Karlsruhe. In addition to providing reading rooms and material, the ESCs provided the facilities for professional meetings (teacher, student, parent, and laypersons).⁵²² ERAD/ECAD staffed the centers and U. S. Army logisticians kept the centers supplied with reading material as it arrived in country – again, through the ports.

In support of the GYA program, the U. S. Army provided transportation, fuel, surplus Army athletic stocks, particularly the equipment left behind by redeploying troops, facilities and even assigned Army personnel to work directly, full-time with the *Kreis* youth committees and the GYA program. One example follows:

The youth center in Garmisch received a large quantity of ping-pong balls through a distribution of surplus Army supplies, but failed to get any paddles or tables. The non-commissioned officer in charge of German youth activities promptly borrowed two paddles from the Army Special Services Club turned the paddles over to the carpenter fathers of several of the young participants in the youth

⁵²² Ibid., 24.

center program, and within a week sufficient paddles and tables were produced to promote a ping-pong competition at the center.⁵²³

Franklin J. Keller, (Chief of the Vocational & Technical Section, OMGUS-Education and Religious Affairs Branch, 1946-47), in an article, “Germany – A Clinical Case,”⁵²⁴ provocatively suggests that the root to learning lies in the absence of hunger for many German children – it is hard to motivate them to learn while their stomachs are growling from hunger.

He argues (correctly) that particularly the children were not getting anywhere near enough calories, even with the supplements. “Food imported into the bi-zonal area [and transported by U. S. Army logisticians] in 1947 amounted to 4,334,352 metric tons, valued at \$516,412,500, providing [on average] 1000 calories per day, or 60% of the official ration. Deliveries shrank about 10% from Bremerhaven to the consumer presumably through black market activity.”⁵²⁵ In addition to the general food imports mentioned above by Keller, and perhaps more memorable, particularly to a generation of Germans, the Hoover child-feeding program initiated in April 1947, after on-the-ground research by President Hoover and Tracy Voorhees, provided approximately 3.5 million school lunches, approximating 350 calories per lunch, to German youth in the bizonal region.⁵²⁶ The young German boys heading to school, mentioned in an earlier section of this narrative, remember even today the school lunches and the cacao milk that inevitably came with the meal.

By this timeframe, 1947-1948, German trucks and drivers supported U. S. Army logisticians, many Germans and Displaced Persons employed in the labor (civilian) support organizations. Nonetheless, without logistics support – enablers – little moved except by foot.

⁵²³ Historical Division, Headquarters, United States Army, Europe, *The U. S. Armed Forces German Youth Activities Program 1945-1955*, 24.

⁵²⁴ Keller, “Germany – a Clinical Case.” *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City*, 22-43.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵²⁶ Clay, *Decision in Germany*, 266-268.

7. Summary: Impact of Official Policies and U. S. Army Logistics on German Society

From warfighting to lifesaving: U. S. Army logistics support saved the lives of many Germans who would probably have died in the first years following capitulation. From starvation to survival: U. S. Army logistics efforts guaranteed a food supply for a largely starving German population. From rubble to reconstruction: one gas line, one water line, one electric plant, one brick, one bridge, one road, one railcar -- step-by-step, U. S. Army Engineers and Transporters assisted the Germans with reconstruction of infrastructure. From National Socialism to Democracy: the U. S. Army strove to reorient the Germans, restructure their schools, and redirect their leisure activities through modeling the American lifestyle.

Forging a connection between U. S. Army logistics support and cultural exchange with the recipients of this support – the German population – might be a bridge too far. This does not imply that the beneficiaries, or for that matter the U. S. service members, did not experience each other's culture. However, language differences hindered close contact. Second, most American servicemembers remained in Germany only a short time – one year, maybe two. Third, at least in the first two years, military units moved around frequently. Even when an American community developed with the arrival of families, because *Kaserne* space was limited by war damage or already occupied by DPs and prisoners of war, and even if available, had not been configured for family life, cultural connections between Germans and Americans was minimal. The U. S. military organization in their assigned area requisitioned housing usually by the block. This situation allowed American families to stick together, isolating them from their German neighbors. Further, much of the contact that took place involved specific, elite groups of people. Considering the three examples of cultural exchange in this study, the contacts between Americans and Germans on the school reform issue occurred primarily between American and

German staff officials and academics, whereas with the German Youth Activities program, contact occurred directly between American servicemembers and German youth. On the German side, an element many writers fail to consider, at least in depth, was the mindset of many Germans immediately after the war – food, shelter and work were the top priorities – survival, not cultural exchange with the occupiers. Furthermore, relatively few Germans had direct contact with U. S. Army troops. This, of course, changed as the U. S. Army employed more Germans.

Attraction to Americans more often resulted from immediate curiosity created by the contrast of apparent wealth of the Americans to the destruction in Germany, or access, at least initially, to the necessities and even commodities, short or non-existent on the German market. Survival and revival instincts overpowered cultural curiosity, at least initially. Frankly, the constant barrage from occupation officials of America's superior society irritated many Germans, especially in light of the often authoritarian and anti-democratic policies and America's own history of slavery, and treatment of minorities, to wit the American Indian reservations, Japanese concentration camps, and especially the highly visible segregation of white and Negro troops in Germany. Further, the impact of confiscation and requisitioning of German resources on a German society already doing without rankled.

Nonetheless, if one created a balance sheet to measure success or failure of U. S. Army logistics as a mechanism imposing cultural transfer or promoting cultural exchange between Americans and Germans during the military occupation, 1945-1949, the score would weigh in favor of measured cultural transfer from the U. S. military government to the Germans and limited cultural exchange on both sides. That is, some Americanisms were imposed through the denazification and democratization programs, and some Americans as well as some Germans

learned or renewed interests in cultures other than their own. Whether the changes in governmental operation or newly found information or rekindled interest brought about lifestyle or organizational changes for either group is doubtful. However, perhaps a better understanding is enough. Notwithstanding the difficulties in measuring cultural exchange, I stand by the score – Americans learned about bratwursts and Germans about hamburgers. Regardless, this game could not have been played without the daily infusion of U. S. Army logistic support.

Conclusions: We are in Country for the Long Haul.

Whatever post-war policies and plans leaders developed prior to war's end, neither planner nor plan could have been prepared for the destruction in Europe at the end of the war. The physical destruction was obvious – the human and cultural devastation initially not so obvious. Likewise, neither planner nor plan could have visualized a reconstructed and rearmed Germany, or, for that matter, a recreated Western Europe within a short timeframe. Looking back, one can easily argue that the end of World War II was also the beginning of a complicated, interconnected, U. S. dominated, globalized world.

After three-and-a half years of combat, many American forces in Germany woke up on the morning of 9 May 1945, to a different mission. For the tactical forces, the fighting in Germany was officially finished. For the service forces, the logistics mission, support the forces, continued. However, for both groups, the occupation mission no longer loomed on the horizon as some amorphous concept waiting for the leaders to solidify into an operation plan. The need was too great, the destruction too obvious to ignore. Amidst the carnage, the survivors needed help – they stood in the doorways of blown-out buildings, they lined the streets, they clogged the highways in all directions. American soldiers had already seen these scenes as they crossed into Germany, particularly as they crossed through areas bombed out or fought through. Nonetheless, the war was over, at least in Germany and most soldiers wanted to go home.

Turning around a war-fighting campaign however, took time, particularly when leaders back home were not sure exactly how much longer the fighting in the Pacific Theater would go on. In the meantime, preparations for redeployment of approximately 2 ½ million soldiers and the set-up of temporary living quarters within Germany for the remaining occupation forces topped the “things-to-do-immediately” list for American units. The clean-up took on gargantuan

proportions – not just setting up tent-cities – that was old-hat for the soldiers, rather, basic repairs to German civilian utility and transportation systems damaged during the war that often taxed the ingenuity of many an Army engineer. Amidst the physical carnage, it quickly became apparent that the specter of starvation and “disease and unrest” danced in the shadows of the destruction.

The U. S. Army Civil Affairs detachments had trained and prepared well for the initial tasks awaiting them, particularly the care and feeding of millions of Displaced Persons and refugees clogging the roadways. However, the lessons learned from Colonel Hunt’s Report following World War I, regarding severe food shortages within the indigenous German population following Germany’s defeat in World War I, and the historic requirement for Germany to import food to support its population, must have been overlooked. As noted in the first chapter, the total German economic system came to a standstill by war’s end. Food production was less than half its 1938 level, while the population to be fed had risen substantially. Additionally, large numbers of working-age Germans, victims of combat, interned as prisoners of war, or camp-interned proven or suspected Nazi leaders and sympathizers, could not assist with industrial or agricultural tasks, nor, immediately, with even necessary repair or reconstruction of infrastructure. It fell to the U. S. Army Civil Affairs soldiers to catalog the current infrastructure damage and future requirements of the local populations. These were perhaps the first witnesses to the absence of functioning local governments in many of the villages and towns they passed through.

The fledgling Military Police Corps soldiers had their hands full keeping roadways somewhat clear and practicing law enforcement in a society gone lawless in many cases for lack of food and shelter – particularly the many homeless DPs and refugees. The Army engineers surveyed the damage to public utility systems, shook their heads at the extent of the damage, and

all too often had to improvise for temporary fixes while repair parts could be located or manufactured. Signal Corps soldiers set up temporary communications system. Medical Corps treated the sick and injured. The tactical soldiers fit in where their skills could best be used – and so it went, like any other community – each member contributed. Logistics laid the cornerstone to support German revival and reconstruction.

It is doubtful in the initial post-war months whether too many of these military forces mulled over future foreign policy issues of their or another government, much less, where the Army might be stationed fifty years down the road. Few considered a long-term occupation, at least one managed and executed by the Army. Rather, they worked to clean up some of the mess and wait out their return home.

As contended in the second chapter, the Army leadership had not counted on a long occupation, nor had they planned for one, at least not one under Army management, and certainly, no one ever dreamed of American forces in Germany for the decades that followed the official ten-year occupation. The decision to tag the U. S. Army with occupation duty was long in coming and resisted by President Roosevelt. The President ultimately, by 1944, decided that the U. S. Army would administer the U. S. military government in Germany. Secretary of War Harry L. Simson supported the decision. Although General Eisenhower had recommended against the U. S. Army assuming the occupation mission, it really was the only choice available at that time. No government or civilian organization other than the U. S. Army possessed the resources and logistics support capabilities to carry off the mission, and the U. S. Army had the advantage of place and time as well.

Late in preparation and final approval, the U. S. occupation operation plan, the Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U. S. Forces of Occupation (JCS 1067), completed prior to the

Potsdam Protocol, virtually guaranteed U. S. Army presence in Germany until the overwhelmingly logistics-in-nature mission was accomplished. Both documents, JCS 1067 and the Potsdam Protocol, recognizing the necessity and validity of such a military occupation, nonetheless heralded a hazy, virtually unmeasurable end state with no end date. Events two years into the military occupation, in 1947 and 1948, culminating in the Berlin Blockade, itself a huge logistics mission involving as a minimum 50 air flights per day, weather permitting, carrying over 5,900,000 pounds per month of supplies into Berlin, changed the playing field and altered perceptions of occupation.⁵²⁷ Indeed, security issues and politics intruded into the everyday. Logistic support became again the arbiter.

U. S. Army forces remained in Germany, altering command formations during the military occupation to reflect the ongoing changes in doctrine as well as to meet strategic and operational ends. The occupation continued under the Allied High Commission, albeit a limited “supervisory” occupation, in the summer of 1949, the intent of which really was to convince the French to accept Germany as a partner, and to prepare Germany for inclusion in some sort of European defense organization. Under the High Commissioner occupation period, 1949-1955, U. S. military forces continued to manage the Lines of Communications (LOCs), providing logistics support for U. S. military and civilian personnel.

After 1955, although in varying numbers, altered formations and a reopened French LOC, at least until 1966, U. S. military forces continued to deploy to Europe. These LOCs, having supported the U. S. occupation forces, and after 1949, the redeploying forces back to Germany deemed necessary to counter any Soviet threat to Europe in the face of the Korean Conflict in 1950, were well situated for future deployments to Europe. Of course, as this force

⁵²⁷ U. S. European Command, Historical Division, Occupation Forces in Europe Series, *The Berlin Airlift, 21 June – 31 December 1948* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1949): 80-82.

grew, so did the logistic requirements – more family members, more living accommodations, and more support facilities.

By 1955, ten years after Germany's unconditional surrender, approximately 250,000 U. S. service members and 200,000 family members had deployed to West Germany, occupying at least 263 acquired and rent-free German *Kasernen* and facilities. A mostly sovereign Germany actually budgeted, as early as 1950, a fair amount of German taxpayer funds to offset, if not cover the costs of repair and/or construction of new facilities under the premise that when U. S. forces returned to the United States (the next time), such facilities would revert to German use, which they eventually did. Few expected then, that that day might be a long time in coming. The German financial support certainly reduced U. S. Congressional *angst* over mushrooming military expenses, and, of course, reduced American taxpayer expenses. German-funded occupation costs had already contributed expansively to the military occupation.

The troop numbers would remain over the 200,000 range, depending on security issues in the region, until 1991, when the latest drawdown of U. S. forces on the European continent began. A few units, in comparison to the heydays in the 1980s, remain, rent-free in German-funded facilities. Although scaled down considerably today, logistics remains the support backbone to an Army that must still be made to feel like they are “back home.”

The fourth chapter explored how U. S. Army logistics in the U. S. occupation zone between 1945 and 1949, laid the foundation for the long-term presence of the U. S. Army in Germany. The voluminous logistics information introduced in this chapter represents the tip of the iceberg. Nonetheless, one can extrapolate from the overview presented just how voluminous and intertwining logistics writ large can be.

First, if there has been one logistics lesson learned over time, it would be the necessity to plan logistics support in advance of an operation. Fortunately, for the U. S. Army, logisticians relied on the warfighting logistics support process with modifications, to provide support into the occupation period. However, the long wait times for political decisions, some created out of the necessity for coalition planning, negatively impacted long-term logistics planning. Even the U. S. Army did not have an infinite number of trains, ships, vehicles and reserve food stocks to support its forces, the millions of DPs, refugees, and the German population not only in its occupation zone, but also in the French and British zones. As one Army general liked to remind his staff, “Hope is not a plan.” In the final analysis, though, the U. S. Army, knowingly or not, laid the foundation for a longer-term presence, and a rather sophisticated one at that. Support agreements were in place for LOCs, transportation routes laid out, facilities renovated or built, to include living quarters, shopping, and medical facilities for soldiers and their families, schools established and accredited, and later in the stationing period, even contracts established with McDonalds, Burger King, T. G. I. Friday’s, Baskin Robbins, and American Express banking and tour services.

Second, initially the rationale for U. S. Army presence was legal and ordered: the laws of war demanded that the occupation force provide at least a minimum level of care to avoid “disease and unrest” in the occupied population. Further, JCS 1067 and the Potsdam Protocol expanded the occupation requirements carried out by the occupation forces. These extensive missions occurred simultaneously with the redeployment of soldiers, initially to finish the war in the Pacific Theater, and then to demobilize and return the soldiers home. Nonetheless, the repatriation of DPs, redeployment of U. S. soldiers, and ongoing assistance with German reconstruction moved along quite well. By 1948 at the latest, the intrusion of political issues

changed the rationale for the presence of military forces from occupation duty to their historic mission – to defend, and if need be, to engage in offensive operations. President Truman, his advisors and most sane leaders had little interest in engaging in another conflict, and particularly not one with the Soviets. I think we can presume that at that time, the Soviets likewise had little interest in another conflagration. Fortunately, the first battle and the only serious battle during the military occupation, and I would call it an offensive battle, was a logistics one, resulting in a logistics support mission probably not rivaled to this day – the Berlin Airlift. Again, the political became logistical.

The final chapter, addressing the third objective of this study, interpreting the cultural impact of the U. S. military logistics support on the German population, presented a number of challenges. First, U. S. Army logistics support did positively affect nearly every German, DP and refugee initially, albeit often indirectly through food, fuel support, clothing and the like, through repair of critical infrastructure, and in some cases, even employment. Additionally, although probably meant primarily as a propaganda tool, the establishment of the Information Centers and their successors, the *Amerikahäuser*, did provide mountains of carefully selected reading material in several languages to include information about the outside world to a people starved for such material for twelve years. However, one should consider that relatively few Germans had the time or ability to use *Amerikahäuser* and like facilities. Either providing the basics of living consumed their waking hours, or they had no transportation assets available to get to the Information Centers.

Second, in venues other than the three selected in this study, school reform, *Amerikahäuser* and the German Youth Activities, the cultural impact might have been quite positive, unlike the reception given to the battle for school reform. American officials, often

perceived as arrogant, and perhaps naively so, with a missionary-like zeal, masked by the authority vested in them through the military occupation statutes, insisted to the bitter end (and the end was bitter in many cases) that the German school system should mirror that of the United States. The Americans lost this battle – the German educators in the three *Länder* pushed back and outlasted the military occupation. Patience can be a valuable tactic. While reform was no doubt necessary, and many German educators had worked toward various reform measures even before the onslaught of National Socialism, might the American proponents of school reform have perhaps had more success had they focused on content of the education presented rather than on the structure of the school system? However, in at least one educational endeavor, the Americans proved quite helpful, that of assisting with the rewriting and publishing of new textbooks. This endeavor, too, depended on the U. S Army's logistical support for paper, print, typewriters, and even printing machines.

Third, noting from the fifth chapter, forging a connection between U. S. Army logistics support and cultural exchange with the recipients of this support, the German population, might be a bridge too far. This does not imply that the beneficiaries, or for that matter the U. S. service members, did not experience each other's culture. However, language barriers hindered close contact. Further, most American service members remained in Germany only a short time – one year, maybe two. Moreover, at least in the first two years, military units moved around frequently. Even when an American community developed with the arrival of families, cultural connections between Germans and Americans was minimal. As *Kaserne* space was limited by war damage or already occupied by DPs and prisoners of war, and even if available, had not been configured for family life. Individual Americans did not make their own housing and related logistics arrangements. The U. S. military organization in their assigned area

requisitioned housing usually by the block, and set up the necessary accoutrements to support the families, to include household help, if available and authorized. In this instance, some personal relationships could blossom. However, these housing procedures and arrangements allowed American families to stick together, generally isolating them from their German neighbors.

This study began on perhaps a naïve assumption: that the U. S. Government through its agent, the U. S. Army, performed its obligatory mission as a participant in the Potsdam process. However, this mission all too soon turned humanitarian and logistics-oriented in character in post-war Germany, and only after the Soviet Union blocked access to Berlin in 1948, did that mission become political and long-term – containment of the Soviet Union. Actually, time has validated both the initial missions : obligatory and humanitarian.

Although problems arose and missteps were taken during the planning, preparation and execution of the occupation, I think Earl Ziemke got it right when he wrote:

Of course, an occupation also differs from a combat operation in various respects and in one in particular: the outcome of a battle will usually – that of an occupation, perhaps seldom – be clear. In a strict sense, maintenance of law and order sufficient to prevent interference with combat missions during hostilities and unrest or to prevent resistance later on are enough to qualify an occupation as a success, but the judgment of history will demand more. And the Army in Germany accomplished more.⁵²⁸

. . . with logistics,

for, logistics developed not only into the strategy to win the Cold War in Europe, where little or no fighting took place, but logistics also stabilized German society immediately after the war, and over the course of the occupation, underpinned the shaping of post-war Western Germany.

⁵²⁸ Ziemke, *The U. S. Army in the Occupation of Germany 1944-1946*, 448.

Appendix Introduction.3

Logistics Matters: the Growth of Little Americas in Occupied Germany

Interview Questionnaire

Where were you in June 1945?

What were you doing professionally or academically at the War's end?

Were you required to go through the denazification process? If so, did U. S. Occupation Forces' requirements and/or restrictions hamper your personal and/or professional goals? Did this denazification process impact on your family or friends? If so, how? Your thoughts on this aspect of the occupation?

Considering access to news media (for example, radio, newspapers, literature, other publications), and family and friends' discussions, how did you keep yourself informed of and react to available information on the presence of the U. S. Occupation Forces?

Were you, family members and/or friends employed by the U. S. Forces? If so, what prompted you to accept employment?

Did you have direct contact, other than official, with the U. S. Forces and/or their families?

Please describe.

Did you and/or your family members participate in U. S. Forces-sponsored activities or use any of the U. S. Forces-sponsored resources (e.g., Haus Amerika)?

What was your reaction to the U. S. Occupation Forces' "reeducation" program?

Looking back on those days after the war, how would you consider the role of the U.S. Forces occupation policies in molding reconstruction of Germany?

How did your experiences with U. S. Force occupation affect/impact on the following generation (e.g., your children, nieces, nephews, et al)?

Based on your experiences with Americans during this period (1945-1952), what aspects of American culture impressed you (positively or negatively) to the degree that you would incorporate these traits into your own cultural experience and lifestyle? What aspects of German culture would you like to see transferred to the American cultural experience and lifestyle?

Appendix I. 1

Chart 1 **Gainfully Employed, Selected Years, 1882-1964⁵²⁹**

	1882	1907	1925	1939	1950	1964
Total gainfully employed (in millions)	17.0	25.4	32.3	35.7	20.4	27.0
Distribution by sectors (as percent of total):						
Agriculture and forestry	42.2	33.9	30.3	25.0	24.6	11.4
Industry and crafts	35.6	39.9	42.3	40.8	42.7	48.3
Commerce, communications and other services	22.2	26.2	27.4	34.2	32.7	40.3

Chart 2⁵³⁰ **Production Comparison**

	1871-1875	1913
Coal production	Annual average, 34.5 million tons	191.5 million tons
Lignite production	9.7 million	87.5 million
Iron production	5.3 million	28.7 million
Merchant marine	147 units/81,994 gross register tons (total internal volume)	2098 units/4,380,348
	1871	1910
Pig iron	1.6 million	13.1 million
Exceeded the British at:		10.2
Crude steel		13.0 million
Exceeded the British at:		7.6
	1870	1912
R/R mileage	18,887 km	60,521 km

⁵²⁹ Gustav Stolper, Karl Häuser and Knut Borchardt, *The German Economy 1870 to the Present*, 23.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., Chapter I, Chart 2, 24.

Chart 3 **Composition of Investment (1913 prices, in percent)**⁵³¹

	1851-55 (%)	*1856-60 (%)	1906-10 (%)
Agriculture			
Buildings	23.2	19.8	6.2
Machinery	5.1	5.6	2.1
Livestock	0.3	8.3	1.3
Inventories	6.9	9.9	0.2
TOTAL	21.2	43.7	9.8
Industry			
Buildings	5.6	5.8	11.4
Machinery/inventories	10.5	11.3	30.2
TOTAL	16.1	17.1	41.7

*International economic crisis triggered by over-speculation of railway stocks in the United States.

Chart 4 **German Foreign Trade, Selected Years, 1872-1913**⁵³²

(Billions of Marks)					
Year	Exports	Imports	Imports: Foodstuffs	Imports: Raw Materials	Imports: Other
1872	2.5	3.5			
1880	3.0	2.8			
1890	3.4	4.3	1.4	1.8	1.1
1900	4.8	6.0			
1910	7.5	8.9			
1913	10.1	10.8	3.0	5.0	2.8

⁵³¹ Toni Pierenkemper and Richard Tilly, *The German Economy During the Nineteenth Century*, 21.

⁵³² Gustav Stolper, Karl Häuser and Knut Borchardt, *The German Economy 1870 to the Present*, 30. I have combined two charts, in which Gustav Stolper cited his source as the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1880-1915, pages 82, 181.

Appendix II.1.2, Handbook for Military Government in Germany, "Table of Contents,"
Office of the Chief of Staff, SHAEF, December 1944

PART I

**General Policy Governing Organization and
Administration of Military Government in
Germany Prior to Defeat or Surrender**

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Paragraph</i>
I. Introductory	1
II. Plan for Operation of Military Government Prior to Defeat or Surrender	25
III. Political and General	70
IV. Proclamation, Laws and Ordinances for the Supreme Commander's Area of Control ..	145

PART II

(This Part is reserved for future use in the
event circumstances require modification of
the organization or general policies estab-
lished in Part I)

PART III

**Background Material and Functional Policy
for Use by Military Government Officers in
the Field**

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Paragraph</i>
I. Civil Administration	200
II. Eradication of Nazism	275
III. Finance and Property Control	325
IV. Public Safety	425
V. Legal	520
VI. Public Health	600
VII. Public Welfare	650
VIII. Displaced Persons and Refugees	700
IX. Labour	770
X. Education and Religious Affairs	800
XI. Agriculture, Food and Food Distribution	870
XII. Supply	930
XIII. Industry, Trade, Public Utilities, Rationing, and Price Control (Other than Food)	960
XIV. Posts, Telephone, Telegraph and Radio Services	1050
XV. Transportation	1110
XVI. Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives	1175
XVII. Reports, Information and Historical	1225
XVIII. Check List for Mil. Gov. Officers	1250

APPENDICES :

- A. Military Government Technical Manuals—Germany.
- B. Finance and Property Control Documents.
- C. Psychological Warfare and the Control of the German
Information Services.
- D. Instructions to Reich Minister of Posts.
- E. Receipt for Supplies to be Furnished by the Supreme
Commander.

Appendix II.3

Military Strength and Civilians Employed by the U. S. Army in the European Theater & European Command⁵³³

Date	U.S. Military Personnel	U. S. Citizens	Allied/Neutral Country Citizens Employed by U. S. Army	Enemy/ex-enemy Citizens & DPs Employed by U. S. Army	TOTALS
8 May 45	3,069,310				
31 Aug 45	2,084,213				
30 Sep 45	1,693,621				
15 Oct 45	1,498,137				
15 Nov 45	1,166,883				
30 Nov 45	943,603			150,479	
15 Dec 45	767,121				
31 Dec 45	667,072				
31 Jan 46	560,101			169,000	
28 Feb 46	498,828			200,000	
31 Mar 46	412,223	6,662		229,508	
30 Apr 46	394,230	8,130	43,474	282,070	
31 May 46	357,917	8,744	46,076	294,711	
30 Jun 46	329,601	8,747	43,958	307,867	
31 Jul 46	302,427	9,434	42,842	323,190	
31 Aug 46	291,664	9,734	41,348	312,144	
30 Sep 46	281,121	10,184	35,532	327,666	
31 Oct 46	246,545	10,776	32,062	315,634	
30 Nov 46	218,581	11,199	29,939	317,070	
31 Dec 46	187,618	11,397	23,732	318,229	
31 Jan 47	167,772	11,396	17,136	310,219	
28 Feb 47	157,246	11,382	13,976	311,463	
31 Mar 47	149,824	11,283	10,727	303,167	
30 Apr 47	144,565	10,943	9,109	276,248	
31 May 47	136,184	10,703	8,067	281,124	
30 Jun 47	134,025	10,187	7,709	262,127	
31 Jul 47	130,654	9,910	6,673	243,662	
31 Aug 47	126,258	9,313	6,758	233,034	
30 Sep 47	123,741	9,161	7,001	225,196	
31 Oct 47	122,982	9,190	7,132	217,917	
30 Nov 47	123,330	9,005	6,855	216,046	
31 Dec 47	124,273	8,826	6,474	215,708	
31 Jan 48	122,777	8,712	5,249	214,779	
29 Feb 48	120,856	8,736	6,258	216,390	
31 Mar 48	118,327	8,825	6,009	215,474	
30 Apr 48	113,910	8,911	6,693		

⁵³³ Historical Division European Command, *The Evolution of the Occupation Forces in Europe*. Data in the monograph is from Machine Records Branch, Adjutant General Division, Headquarters, EUCOM, Civilian Requirements Section, Requirements, Organization, Equipment and Movements Branch, Operations, Plans, Organization, and Training Division, Headquarters, EUCOM (Frankfurt-am-Main, GE: European Command, 1948), 309-312. This table represents the clearest set of numbers found during this research project.

Appendix II.3.1

Berlin Airlift into Berlin⁵³⁴

Appendix V

TONNAGES LIFTED TO BERLIN IN U.S. AIRCRAFT BETWEEN 21 JUNE 1948 AND NOON 31 DECEMBER 1948.

Inbound Cargo	1-30 June	21-31 July	1-31 August ⁽¹⁾	1-30 September ⁽²⁾	1-31 October ⁽³⁾	1-30 November ⁽⁴⁾	1-31 Dec ⁽⁵⁾
AF Supply							102.9
QM Class I	862.43	524.89	1,542.61	1,140.55	1,191.0	975.1	817.8
QM Class I (Perishables)	78.11	50.49	23.24	52.52	282.2	648.9	368.2
QM Class III		135.82	47.18	79.32	1,288.8	1,392.7	1,698.3
QM Class II & IV		34.69	56.79	274.99	389.0	115.1	114.1
Engr Class II & IV		56.71	357.07	645.66	208.2	192.7	164.6
Engr (Air Force)		873.18	1,769.81	2,922.83	2,468.7	774.6	882.5
Ord II & IV		7.20	91.58	105.97	105.7	87.4	81.6
Medical	.60	7.55	12.49	10.43	-----	26.0	7.3
Signal		2.02	14.85	-----	18.6	17.0	25.8
EES		2.43	28.78	68.87	76.1	136.7	266.8
Special Services			.41	2.05	-----	5.6	13.1
US Mail	38.45	82.88	83.74	130.58	129.2	138.3	192.8
Miscellaneous	9.85	37.27	50.67	86.42	77.2	173.2	86.1
CA Food	622.05	24,763.37	18,934.20	23,751.69	26,328.5	20,966.7	35,604.9
CA Coal		13,907.08	42,891.89	65,396.70	69,927.9	52,135.4	67,492.9
CA Mail		14.72	3.48	-----	-----	-----	-----
CA Medical		1.25	17.91	36.72	63.5	42.5	98.9
CA Miscellaneous			154.09	503.35	364.8	770.9	1,459.9
US Coal					4,159.1		
Engr Coal						4,716.2	4,090.5
French Coal					1,191.8	1,816.4	1,826.9
French Miscellaneous		673.31	541.09	600.62	827.9	492.1	853.6
TOTALS	1,611.49	41,174.86	66,080.79	95,208.65	109,098.20	85,623.50	116,249.50

See below for numbers and notes.

(1) Hq, EUCOM, Deputy Commander in Chief's Weekly Staff Conference, No. 37, 14 Sep 48, p. 7.
 (2) Hq, G-4 Monthly Report "Airlift Cargo", September 1948.
 (3) Hq, EUCOM, Deputy Commander in Chief's Weekly Staff Conference, No. 46, 16 Nov 48, p. 8.
 (4) Ibid, No. 50, 14 Dec 48, p. 8.
 (5) Ibid, No. 12, 22 Mar 49, pp 10-11.

NOTE: Figures for June-November collected by Lt. R. P. Bohner, formerly of Historical Division, Hq. EUCOM.

TOTALS 1,611.49 41,174.86 66,080.79 95,208.65 109,098.20 85,623.50 116,249.50

Sources noted above for notes 1, 3, 4 and 5: HQ, EUCOM Deputy Commander-in-Chief's Weekly Staff Conference, No. 37, 14 Sep 48, p. 7; No. 46, 16 Nov 48, p.8; No. 50, 14 Dec 48, p. 8; and No. 12, 22 Mar 49, pp. 10-11, respectively. Note 2 is from the HQTRS G-4 Monthly Report, "Airlift Cargo," September 1948.

CA represents Civil Affairs: resources flown in for civilian population.

Note: these two charts, II.3.1 and the following III.3.2 represent only U. S. aircraft.

⁵³⁴ United States Army European Command, Office of the Chief Historian, *Occupation Forces in Europe Series, The Berlin Airlift, 21 June – 31 December 1948* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1949): 97.

Appendix II.3.2

Berlin Airlift Tonnages out of Berlin⁵³⁵

Appendix VI

TONNAGES LIFTED FROM BERLIN IN U.S. AIRCRAFT BETWEEN 21 JUNE 1948 AND NOON 31 DECEMBER 1948.

Outbound Cargo	(1) 21-30 June	(2) 1-31 July	(3) 1-31 August	(4) 1-30 September	(5) 1-31 October	(6) 1-30 November	(7) 1-31 December
QM Class II & IV	235.29	84.37	86.12	93.580	269.9	119.5	48.6
Medical		.50	.50				----
Engr Class II & IV	48.40	2.30	23.55	13.046	32.9	12.4	136.5
Household Goods	141.61	351.30	280.12	567.982	361.7	166.6	224.9
Ord Class II & IV	32.88	13.61	6.31		33.2	45.2	88.2
Signal	13.54	21.47		48.207	5.6	3.6	5.6
Air Force Materials	----	.70	6.27		4.9	18.6	26.2
Documents & CMGUS Office Equipment	----	86.42	223.65	28.808	33.3	----	20.2
Misc Frt (ACT)	9.28	136.36	86.76	79.674	71.0	4.8	65.3
US Mail	20.57	50.31	45.30	130.915	47.5	35.0	47.6
Misc Frt	76.33	48.09		80.682		62.2	11.6
Private Vehicles			5.23	227.673	209.5	104.3	40.7
War Dead			.95				----
French			1.50	68.098	69.0	51.6	51.3
CA Industrial Items		558.69	321.81	298.171	521.6	572.0	1,036.3
CA Mail		12.49	25.36	71.382	161.2	281.9	1,172.1
CA Newspapers					.2	.2	.7
CA Baggage					120.2		----
	<u>577.90</u>	<u>1,366.61</u>	<u>1,113.43</u>	<u>1,707,218</u>	<u>1,941.7</u>	<u>1,477.9</u>	<u>2,975.8</u>

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(1) HQ, EUCOM, Deputy Commander in Chief's Weekly Staff Conference, No. 37, 14 Sep 48, pp 7-8.
 (2) HQ, EUCOM, Deputy Commander in Chief's Weekly Staff Conference, No. 37, 14 Sep 48, pp 7-8.
 (3) HQ, EUCOM, Deputy Commander in Chief's Weekly Staff Conference, No. 46, 16 Nov 48, p 9.
 (4) Ibid, No. 50, 14 Dec 48, pp 8-9.
 (5) Ibid, No. 12, 22 Mar 49, p 11.
 NOTE: Figures for June-November collected by Lt. R. P. Bohner.

⁵³⁵ Ibid., 98.

Appendix III.1.6a

1st Infantry Division, U. S. Army, Occupation Germany⁵³⁶

Organization Type (a/o 1943)	Post-War Location (Aug 45)	Dates
16 th Infantry Regiment 3d Bn	Bamberg Nürnberg-Fürth From Berlin to Nürnberg	Thru 1946 1950 15 Nov 50
18 th Infantry Regiment 1 st Bn 3d Bn Both to Aschaffenburg	Windsheim [Frankfurt, Mannheim, Aschaffenburg] Lenggries Friedberg, Bavaria	Thru 1946 1950 1950 ?? 1950 ?? 13, 20 Oct 1950
26 th Infantry Regiment	Heilbronn (?) Bamberg	Thru 1946 1950
HQ & HHB Division Artillery	Erlangen	1950
5 th Fld Arty Bn (155)	Triesdorf Hessental Schwäbisch Hall	1950 ?? 1950
7 th Fld Arty Bn (105)	Gunzenhausen Schwabach	1950
32d Field Artillery Bn (105)	Feuchtwangen Hessental Göppingen	1950 ?? 1950
33d Field Arty Bn (105)	Heidenheim Schwabach Erlangen	1950 ?? 1950
<i>1st Recon Trp, Mecz</i>	Erlangen	1950

⁵³⁶ Compiled by author from numerous sources: H. R. Knickerbocker and Jack Thompson, *Danger Forward: The Story of the First Division in World War II* (Whitefish, MN: Kessinger Publishing, Llc, 2007); James Scott Wheeler, *The Big Red One, America's Legendary 1st Infantry Division from World War I to Desert Storm*, and editions of the *American Traveler*, the 1st Infantry Division newspaper.

Organization Type, a/o 1943	Post-War Location (Aug 45)	Dates
HQTRS, 1 st Div	Bad Tölz Flint Kaserne	1950
1 st Div Band Det, 1 st ID Band	Fürth & Aschaffenburg to Erlangen	1950
1 st Engineer CBT Bn	Frant Lazne, CZ Darmstadt	1950
1 st Medical Bn 1 st Med Det	Regensburg Bad Tölz	1950 1950
1st Counter Intel Corps Det	Bad Tölz	1950
HQ, Special Troops		
Hqs Co, 1 st Inf Div		
42d Inf Scout Dog Platoon	Bamberg	1950
701 st Ordnance Light Maintenance Co	<i>(Did this unit redeploy shortly after war's end?)</i>	
71 st Ord Bn	Zirndorf	1950
1 st Quartermaster Co	Lenggries	1950
1 st Signal Co 4 th Sig Radar	Bad Tölz Knielingen Karlsruhe	1950 1950 ?? 1950
49 th Radio- controlled Target Det (RCAT)	Karlsruhe	1950

Organization Type, a/o 1943	Post-War Location (Aug 45)	Dates
1st Recon Trp, Mecz	Erlangen	1950
552d AAA Gun Bn	Karlsruhe Knielingen	1950 1950 ???
122d Trans Trk Bn	Nürnberg	1950
1 st Inf Div Finance Section: Disbursing Office Class B Agent Offices	Erlangen Bad Tölz & Darmstadt	1950 1950
63d Tank Bn	Mannheim	1950
12 th AAA Group (attached Nov/Dec 1950)	Karlsruhe	1950

Appendix III.1.6b

Location of 1st Infantry Division Units⁵³⁷

June – July 1945:

Headquarters, 1st Infantry Division: Ansbach
16th Infantry Regiment: Bamberg, with subordinate units in Höchstadt an der Aisch
18th Infantry Regiment: Windsheim with units in Uffenheim, Scheinfeld, Neustadt an der Aisch, and Rothenburg ob der Tauber
26th Infantry Regiment: Nürnberg with units in Fürth, Erlangen, Forchheim
Division Artillery: Dinkelsbühl with units in Triesdorf, Heidenheim, Feuchtwangen and Gunzenhausen
1st Engineer Combat Bn: Frant Lazne, Czechoslovakia
701st Ordnance Light Maintenance Company: Bad Aibling (47)
Reception Station: Schonbach

By November 1945, as the Headquarters disbursed across the Zone:

16th Infantry Regiment: Mellrichstadt, Kissingen, Gerolzhofen, Königshofen in Grabenfeld, Hofheim in Mainfranken, Hassfurt, and Ebern
18th Infantry Regiment: Höchstadt an der Aisch, Karlstadt, Würzburg, Ochsenfurt, Kitzingen, Neustadt an der Saale
26th Infantry Regiment: no change
Division Artillery: Lohr, Alzenau in Mainfranken, Aschaffenburg, Obernburg, Mittenberg, Gemünden, Marktheidenfeld, Brückenau, Hammelburg

By July 1951, most of the 1st ID units occupied former Wehrmacht kasernes.

Headquarters, 1st Infantry Division, 1st Counter Intelligence Corps Detachment, 1st Quartermaster Company (Prinz Heinrich Kaserne), **1st Signal Company** (Flint Kaserne), **Military Police Company, 1st Replacement Company:** Flint Kaserne, Bad Tölz (1950), Darmstadt
16th Infantry Regiment: Fürth (Monteith Barracks)
18th Infantry Regiment: Aschaffenburg (Pioneer Kaserne)
26th Infantry Regiment: Bamberg (Panzer and La Garde kasernes)
Division Artillery: Erlangen (Ferris Barracks), with major subordinate units in Kitzingen (Dolan Barracks), Schwabach (O'Brien Barracks), Aschaffenburg and Erlangen
1st Engineer Combat Bn: Darmstadt (Leib-Garde Kaserne)
701st Ordnance Light Maintenance Company: Bamberg
Reception Station: Schonbach
1st Reconnaissance Troop and Division Band: Erlangen (Ferris Barracks)
1st Medical Battalion: Kitzingen
48th AAA AW Battalion (SP): Knielingen (Gerszewski Barracks)

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

Appendix III.1.6c

1st Infantry Division Map Locations Sometime after 1947



OPERATION "OCCUPATION"

H. R. Knickerbocker and Jack Thompson, *Danger Forward: The Story of the First Division in World War II* (Whitefish, MN: Kessinger Publishing, Llc, 2007)

Appendix III.2.1, Zones of Occupation⁵³⁸



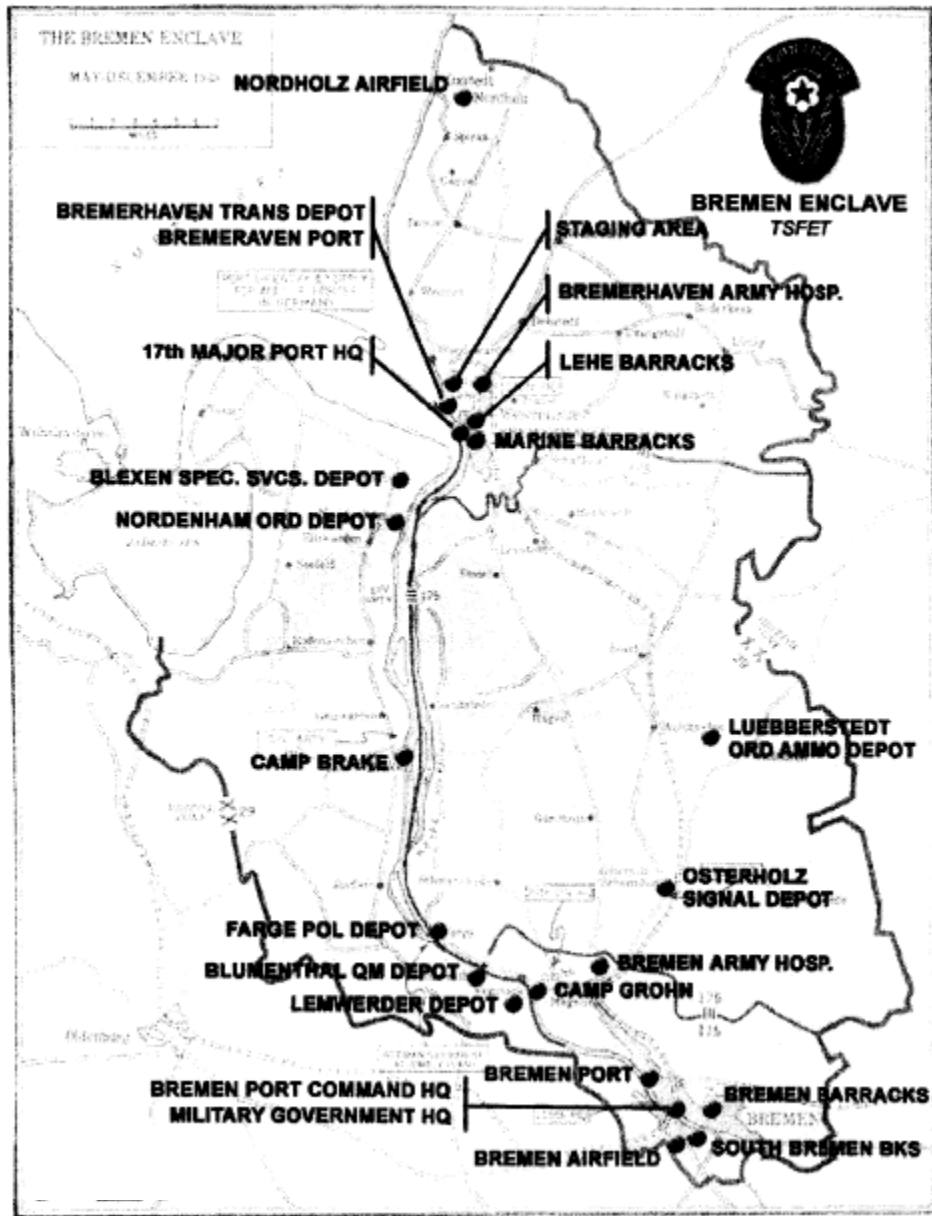
⁵³⁸ OMGUS Report of the Military Governor, February 1946, and front and back covers of several issues.

Appendix III.2.2, U. S. Zone of Occupation, Military Districts, 1945-1946⁵³⁹



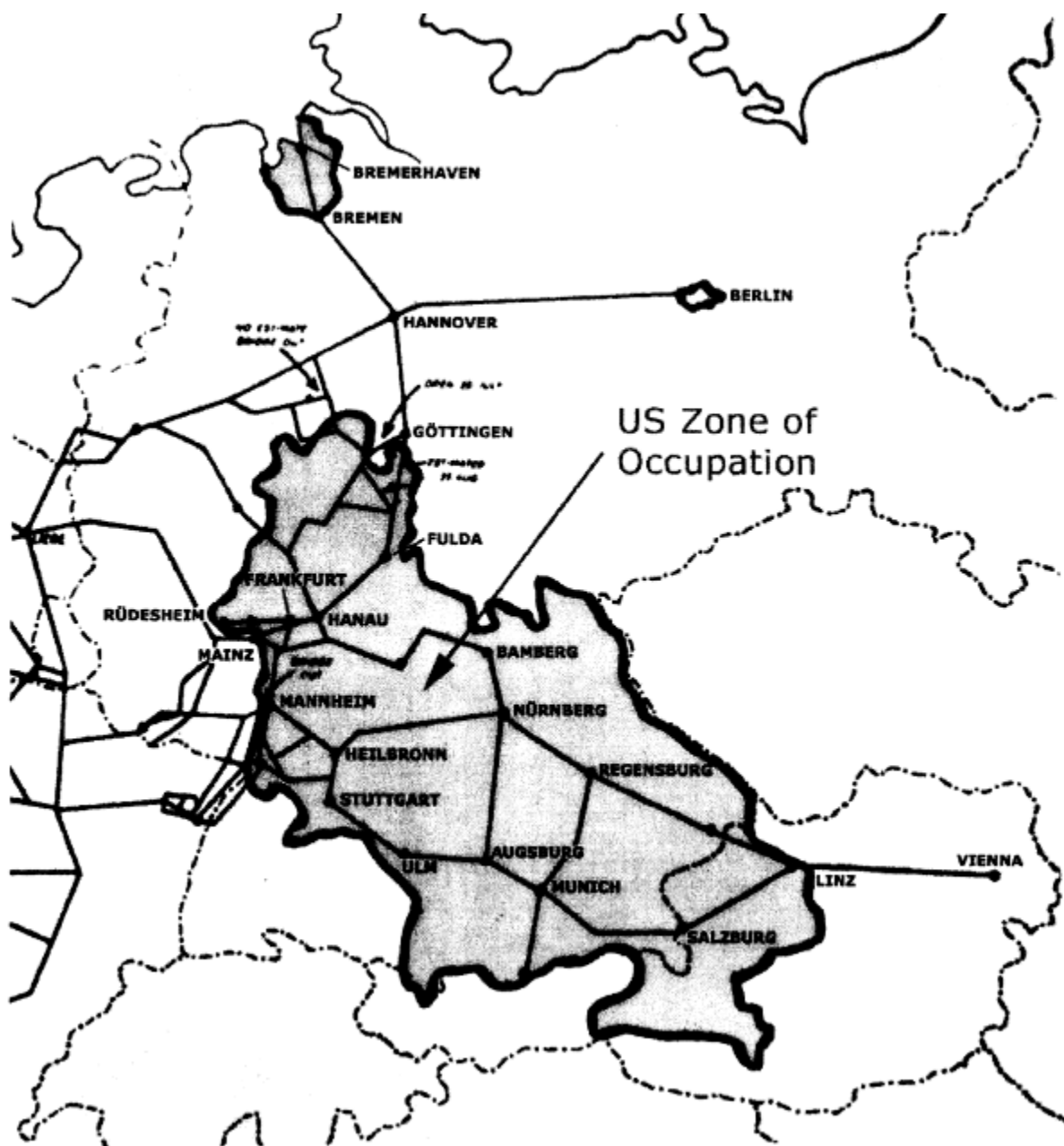
⁵³⁹ Ibid.

Appendix III.2.3, U. S. Zone of Occupation, Bremen Enclave, Late 1945⁵⁴⁰



⁵⁴⁰ From USAREUR Archives, currently accessed 30 May 2013 under:
http://www.usarmygermany.com/Units/Occupation/USAREUR_HqTSFET.htm

Appendix IV.2.2.1, USFET Transportation System, Rail, 1945-1946⁵⁴¹



⁵⁴¹ Originally from USAREUR Archives, By permission of the site webmaster, Walter Elkins, accessed 30 May 2013 and 24 Jul 2014 under: http://www.usarmygermany.com/Units/Occupation/USAREUR_HqTSFET.htm

Appendix IV.2.2.2a, Disposal of Military Installations, August-September 1946⁵⁴²

PROGRESS REPORT ON SURVEY AND DISPOSAL OF MILITARY INSTALLATIONS OTHER THAN FORTIFICATIONS AND DEFENSIVE WORKS IN THE U.S. ZONE OF GERMANY FOR THE PERIOD ENDING 1 SEPTEMBER 1946						
Type of Installation	Total Located To Date	DISPOSED OF:			NOT DISPOSED OF:	
		By Salvage	By Destruction	Left Intact	In Use by U.S. Troops	Held Awaiting Final Action
Barracks	1,641	-	41	219	1,193	188
Hq and administrative installations	76	-	4	17	50	5
Emergency war housing (military)	28	-	1	6	21	-
Hospitals (military)	133	-	1	8	101	23
Convalescent and recreation centers (military)	36	-	1	6	29	-
Arsenals	43	-	-	-	43	-
Depots (above ground)	234	-	8	3	218	5
Schools (military)	7	-	-	4	3	-
Warehouses	31	-	-	-	22	9
Training Areas (including firing ranges)	18	-	1	-	15	2
Radar, Searchlight and AA Installa- tions	4	-	1	-	2	1
Airfields	63	-	-	38	25	-
Experimental factories	1	-	1	-	-	-
Navy Yard & ship repair facilities	10	-	-	-	10	-
Other German naval installations	2	-	-	-	1	1

⁵⁴² OMGUS Report of the Military Governor, September 1946.

Appendix IV.2.2.2b, Dwelling Units Inhabited by Indigenous Population and Displaced Persons Living Outside the DP Centers, OMGUS Report, January and December 1946

Cities	Total ^{a/}		Repair necessary		No repair necessary		Est. persons per room Dec 46
	Jan 46	Dec 46	Jan 46	Dec 46	Jan 46	Dec 46	
TOTAL	848,058	890,743	336,119	313,395	511,939	577,348	2.0
Bavaria ^{b/}	470,434	476,430	152,654	141,982	317,780	334,448	2.0
Schweinfurt	8,345	8,082	3,340	3,202	5,005	4,880	2.3
Wuerzburg	7,761	7,893	4,200	3,629	3,561	4,264	3.6
Aschaffenburg	7,560	7,718	4,600	4,642	2,960	3,076	1.9
Ansbach	6,466	6,417	365	165	6,101	6,252	2.2
Bamberg	14,396	14,010	400	80	13,996	13,930	1.8
Bayreuth	11,284	11,199	1,041	858	10,243	10,341	2.0
Coburg	8,427	8,410	338	-	8,089	8,410	2.2
Erlangen	8,751	8,089	10	10	8,741	8,079	1.6
Fuerth	21,644	22,297	3,400	4,803	18,244	17,494	2.1
Hof	13,432	13,653	274	3	13,158	13,650	2.9
Nuremberg	65,135	64,804	45,158	35,398	19,977	29,406	1.9
Amberg	7,432	8,374	140	485	7,292	7,889	2.3
Landshut	9,005	8,908	833	572	8,172	8,336	2.1
Passau	6,213	6,155	279	334	5,934	5,821	2.0
Regensburg	23,198	24,285	1,000	903	22,198	23,382	2.2
Straubing	6,831	7,077	587	330	6,244	6,747	1.8
Weiden	7,064	7,486	90	85	6,974	7,401	1.5
Ingolstadt	3,760	3,863	200	145	3,560	3,718	3.9
Munich	181,057	184,173	70,963	73,303	110,094	110,870	2.0
Rosenheim	6,204	6,277	4,418	3,175	1,786	3,102	1.7
Angsburg	38,847	39,625	10,667	9,509	28,180	30,116	1.2
Kempten	7,622	7,635	351	351	7,271	7,284	1.5
Hesse ^{b/}	192,145	210,002	84,714	75,640	107,431	134,362	1.9
Frankfurt	88,308	95,474	44,000	30,187	44,308	65,287	1.8
Hanau	4,862	4,853	1,094	886	3,768	3,967	3.2
Wiesbaden	32,421	39,526	6,146	14,913	26,275	24,613	1.7
Kassel	13,387	15,253	9,604	8,052	3,783	7,201	3.7
Fulda	7,295	7,832	902	746	6,393	7,086	2.2
Marburg	5,525	5,969	1,765	389	3,760	5,580	2.7
Offenbach	19,956	19,975	7,425	7,106	12,531	12,869	1.6
Darmstadt	13,619	13,567	7,773	7,447	5,846	6,120	1.6
Giessen	6,752	7,553	6,005	5,914	747	1,639	1.7
Wuertt.-Baden ^{b/}	185,479	204,311	98,751	95,773	86,728	108,538	2.2
Heilbronn	9,862	10,165	2,073	1,624	7,789	8,541	2.5
Stuttgart	64,818	72,962	43,267	43,007	21,551	29,955	2.0
Ulm	11,451	13,247	8,458	9,272	2,993	3,975	1.7
Mannheim	45,860	49,042	28,150	26,870	17,710	22,172	2.4
Karlsruhe	22,646	28,272	10,680	9,525	11,966	18,747	2.5
Heidelberg	23,300	22,490	1,000	952	22,300	21,538	2.2
Pforzheim	7,542	8,133	5,123	4,523	2,419	3,610	2.2

^{a/} Excluding dwellings inhabited by U.S. forces, including dwellings inhabited by DPs outside camps.

Appendix IV.2.2.5

Army Exchange Service Retail Installations, 1946-1947⁵⁴³

Retail Category	1 Feb 1947	31 May 1947
Post Exchanges and Post Exchange Offices	260	283
Breweries (contract with German breweries)	14	17
Ice Cream Plants	52	55
Laundry and Dry Cleaning	47	44
Photo Finishing Labs/Plants	8	15
Shoe Repair Centers/Plants	16	18
Snack Bars	257	279
Soda Fountains	192	290
Watch, Radio, Fountain Pen Repair /Merchandise Repair	52	47
Photography/Portrait Studios	16	21
Beer Halls/Beer Bars	19	7
Auto Sales Stores	3	
Garages	49	53
Service Stations	60	69
Barber Shops	203	269
Beauty Shops	55	67
Bowling Alleys	2	9
Tailor Shops	173	171
Bulk Stores	43	
Bakeries and/or Donut Plants		24
Soft Drink Bottling Plants		12
Juke Boxes		69
Shoe Shine Stands		107
Valet Service Pick-Up Points		95
Flower Shop		1
Taxi Services		3
*News Stands		159
*Magazine Circulation Points		11
*Transferred to Stars & Stripes 1 June 1947		

⁵⁴³ Office of the Chief Historian European Command, *Occupation Forces in Europe Series, Second Year, 1946-1947* (Frankfurt-am-Main., 1947), 167-169.

Appendix IV.3a

Repatriation Status of Displaced Persons a/o 30 December 1945⁵⁴⁴

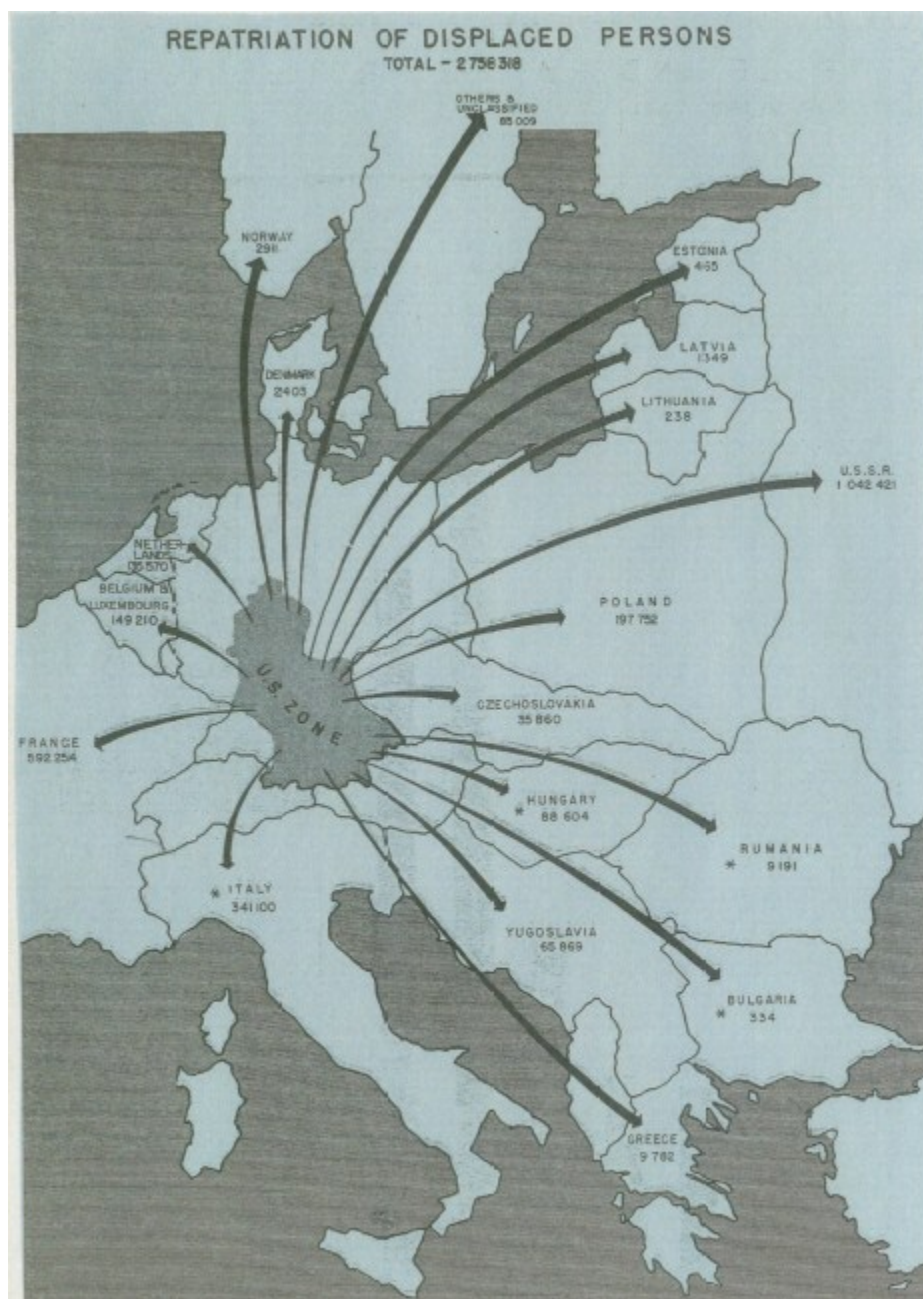
Table V
REPATRIATION STATUS OF DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES ZONE
OF GERMANY (30 DECEMBER 1945)

Nationality	Requiring Repatri- ation	Probable Non-Repa- triates	Total Repatriates To Date	Total Repa- triates & No. to be Repatriated	Per Cent Repatri- ated
Belgian & Lux.	946		149,118	150,064	99.3
Czech	6,047		35,340	41,387	85.4
Danish	106		2,403	2,509	95.8
Dutch	1,837		134,831	136,668	98.6
Estonians	353	11,800	465	12,618	3.7
French	1,375		591,748	593,123	99.8
Greek	1,364		9,782	11,146	87.8
Latvian	10,285	32,721	1,349	44,355	3.0
Lithuanian	9,239	22,119	238	31,596	7.5
Norwegian	141		2,911	3,052	95.4
Polish	72,913	124,548	191,905	389,366	49.2
Russian	27,256	10,000	1,042,125	1,079,381	96.5
Yugoslav	17,948	1,074	65,316	84,338	77.4
Bulgarian	985		344	1,329	25.9
Hungarian	44,857		52,883	97,740	54.1
Italian	2,018		340,583	342,601	99.4
Rumanian	8,363		8,521	16,884	60.4
Stateless	17,435	8,608		26,043	
Others & Uncl.	40,181	6,525	79,265*	125,971	62.9
Total	263,649	217,395	2,709,127	3,190,171	84.9

* Includes stateless, others, and unclassified repatriated to date.

⁵⁴⁴ U. S. Army Europe, Historical Division, Provost Marshal General's School, Military Government Department, Occupation Forces in Europe Series, *Displaced Persons, 1945-1946*, Training Packet No. 53 (Frankfurt-am-Main and Fr. McPherson, GA, 1947): 74.

Appendix IV.3b Repatriation of Displaced Persons, February 1946⁵⁴⁵



⁵⁴⁵ OMGUS Military Government Report 8, February 1946.

Appendix IV.3.2a

Displaced Persons, Expellees in the U. S. Occupation Zone⁵⁴⁶

Date	Total DPs Repatriated by Month	Number of DPs Remaining in Germany	Expellees from CZ and HU ⁵⁴⁷
September 45	2,555,109	534,829	
October 45	2,667,764	474,506	
November 45	2,708,549	439,841	
December 45		511,000	
January 46 ⁵⁴⁸		406,000	150,000
February 46		327,000	35,000 Sudetens 10,000 Swabians
March 46			245,000 Sudetens 22,000 Swabians
April 46		532,000	342,000 Sudetens 46,000 Swabians 92,000 mixed
May 46		approx. 500,000	646,338 combined Sudeten and Swabians
June 46			
July 46		500,000 in centers 50,000 outside	
August 46		400,000	410,000 refugees
September 46	2,900,000	412,000	1,190,000 Sudetens total 162,441 Swabians total
October 46	2,950,000	395,000	1,465,000 ⁵⁴⁹
November 46	2,970,050	600,904 ⁵⁵⁰	
January 47	2,999,000	369,000 in centers 224,500 outside	TOTAL of 1,626,672 Sudetens 1,838,526 mix of refugees from eastern Europe, HU and CZ
Apr 47		366,000 in centers 166,000 outside	Apr 47 numbers from USAREUR Second Year Report

⁵⁴⁶ Data from Monthly Reports of the Military Government between Sep1945-Sep1946, Report Nos.3 through 15. USGCC claimed 4.1 million DPs repatriated by 31 Jul 1945, in *Monthly Report of the Military Government*, No. 1, Aug 1945.

⁵⁴⁷ Although responsibility for housing, food, et al., rested with German agencies, Expellees competed with local areas for food, housing, and other support, resources already in short supply.

⁵⁴⁸ Expellees from Czechoslovakia and Hungary officially started arriving in the U. S. Occupation Zone in Jan 46.

⁵⁴⁹ At this time, the category designation changed from Expellee to New Citizens, and numbers were often mixed with non-Sudeten, non-Swabian refugees from Eastern Europe.

⁵⁵⁰ According to the source, this number included ex-enemy displaced persons.

Appendix IV.3.2b

Status of Displaced Persons in the U. S. Zone, 30 June 1946⁵⁵¹

a. <u>United Nations Displaced Persons</u>						
Nationality	On Hand		Total	Repatriated		Total
	In Camp	Out of Camp		Total Repat. To Date	Per Cent Repat.	Repat. & on Hand
Belgian & Lux.	97	1,649	1,746	149,370	98.8	151,116
Czechoslovakian	402	5,690	6,092	37,073	85.9	43,177
Danish	10	247	257	2,403	90.3	2,660
Dutch	150	4,000	4,150	135,077	97.0	139,227
Estonians	16,315	1,915	18,230	465	2.5	18,712
French	224	3,209	3,433	592,389	99.4	595,824
Greek	306	1,110	1,416	10,006	87.7	11,422
Latvian	45,080	3,766	48,846	1,349	2.7	50,251
Lithuanian	30,194	3,463	33,657	238	.7	33,927
Norwegian	29	197	226	2,913	92.8	3,139
Polish	165,341	32,005	197,346	235,131	54.3	432,614
Russian	3,707	7,633	11,340	1,042,809	98.9	1,004,164
Yugoslav	7,286	7,924	15,210	66,685	81.4	81,912
Stateless	18,068	12,274	30,342	—	—	30,469
Others & Unclass.	25,439	5,911	31,350	100,638	76.1	132,320
Jews	55,562	23,646	79,208	—	—	82,426
Total	368,210	114,639	482,849	2,376,546	83.0	2,863,360
b. <u>Ex-Enemy Displaced Persons</u>						
Bulgarian	48	127	175	520	74.8	695
Hungarian	1,303	692	1,995	122,125	98.4	124,124
Italian	908	1,114	2,022	342,039	99.4	344,061
Rumanian	3,289	577	3,866	9,401	70.9	13,267
Total	5,548	2,510	8,058	474,085	98.3	482,147
Grand Total	373,758	117,149	490,907	2,850,631	85.2	3,345,507

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., 89.

Appendix IV.3.2.3.1

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Teams in the U. S. Occupation Zone, 1945

U. S. Western Military District

3 Giessen
(Verdun Kaserne)
9 Darmstadt
10 Giessen (Berg K)
23 Mannheim
27 Hanau
28 Wiesbaden
35 Munster
36 Giessen (Steinbach)
46 Siegelsbach
47 Heilbronn
49 Bensheim
50 Hockenheim
51 Korbach
52 Stuttgart
53 Wolfsanger (Kassel)
67 Heidenheim
68 Göppingen
69 Mergentheim
70 Kassel
77 Oberzwehren
79 Mosbach
88 Wetzlar

91 Ludwigsburg
93 Schwäbisch Gmünd
94 Ettlingen
95 Ludwigsburg
96 Knielingen (Karlsruhe)
105 Allendorf
115 Bremen
117 Fritzlar
126 Wasseralfingen
127 Ulm
138 Fulda
9 Bremen
149 Ulm
166 Schwäbisch Gmünd
179 Wetzlar
180 Weinberg
181 Crailsheim
190 Geislingen
203 Wertheim
204 Mosbach
205 Waiblingen
208 Esslingen
500 Vaihingen
502 Stuttgart
503 Zeilsheim (Frankfurt)

504 Bebra
505 Mönchehof
506 Böblingen
507 Aglasterhausen
508 Ulm
509 Ulm
510 Bremen
511 Hofgeismar
715 Hersfeld
717 Bettenhausen (Kassel)
722 Dieburg

U. S. Eastern Military District

1 Kaufbeuren
55 Regensburg
56 Neumarkt
71 Hohenfels
75 Fürstenfeldbruck
76 Kempten
78 Laufen
83 Nürnberg
90 Sonthofen
92 Augsburg
106 Wolfratshausen
107 München

108 München
109 Feldaafing
114 Augsburg
116 Hof
119 Aschaffenburg
120 Regensburg
121 Ingolstadt
122 Oberammergau
124 München
125 München
131 Pilsen
133 Amberg (Kaiser Wilhelm
Kaserne) approx.. 12K DPs
136 Metten
137 Lauf a.d. Pegnitz
143 Passau
144 Markt Redwitz
150 Schongau (Wehrmacht
Barracks)
154 Mühldorf
155 Memmingen
159 Traunstein
160 Pocking
161 Wasserburg
165 Günzburg
167 Ansbach
168 Tirschenreuth
169 Würzburg
175 Coburg

176 Bamberg
177 Wildflecken
182 Kloster Indersdorf
186 Bayreuth
187 Cham
188 Rosenheim
194 Weilheim
195 Schweinfurt
197 Eichstätt
198 Seligenstadt
302 Wildflecken
303 Nürnberg
304 Würzburg
306 Freising
307 Bamberg
308 Dillingen
309 Schwandorf
310 Weiden
311 Landsberg
405 Burghausen
536 Mittenwald
537 Landshut
538 Pfaffenhofen
539 Eggenfelden
540 München
541 Augsburg
544 Mainburg
545 Pasing
546 Dachau

547 München
548 Nürnberg
549 Forchheim
550 Straubing
551 St. Ottilian
710 Bad Aibling

Sources:

<http://www.dpcamps.org/dpcampseurope.html>
accessed 1 Jul 2013 and Report
10, Weekly Consolidated Report
from Württemberg-Baden, 30
June-6 Jul 1945, OMGUS Fiche
12/87-3/6, Baden-Württemberg
Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart

Appendix IV.4.1

USFET Construction Program Status, December 1946⁵⁵²

Installations	Man Hours Labor ⁵⁵³	Requirements/Long Tons of Supplies	% Completed a/o Dec 1946
Military Communities	69,175,000	434,800	52.7
Headquarters	1,845,000	22,885	
Command Schools	1845,000	22,885	
Hospitals	4,600,000	17,200	47.0
Depots	3,600,000	52,096	59.9
Shops	332,000	6,250	
Special Installations ⁵⁵⁴	350,000	4,860	51.9
Bridges: Highway Railway	2,376,000 686,000	4,515 1,600	
Railways	2,560,000	45,400	
Highways	1,572,000	31,900	
Utilities	2,760,000	38,200	
Ports	432,000	1,210	
Inland Waterways	400,000	25	
TOTAL	92,543,000	683, 826	

⁵⁵² Office of the Chief Historian European Command, Occupation Forces in Europe Series, 1945-1946, *The Physical Plant – Its Procurement, Construction and Maintenance*, 49.

⁵⁵³ “Man hours” became the unit of measure for work as assigning a monetary value had at this time little meaning and most of the labor included POWs, DPs and U.S. military – all receiving room and board.

⁵⁵⁴ Includes laundries, radio stations, beverage plants, receiver (wireless) sites, cold storage warehouses, map reproduction plants and military schools

Appendix IV.4.2.5

Headquarters, EUCOM Special Services Division Activities, 1949⁵⁵⁵

ACTIVITY	Participation in 1949
Recreation Centers: Garmisch and Berchtesgaden, Chiemsee	327,500
Organized Travel Tours primarily to Switzerland, BENELUX, and France	Approx. 6,500
Arts & Crafts: 82 craft shops and 89 darkrooms	Approx. 350,000
Service Clubs: 94 with approximately 400 hostesses	Between 1 and 2 million per month
Libraries: 360 libraries or book collections with 22 permanent totaling more than 600,000 books and numerous journals and magazines	In March 1949: 377,000 In September, 1949: 304,500
Theatrical activities at every major installation	
Motion Pictures: 105 - 35 mm theaters	Average per month 700,000
140 - 16 mm theaters	Average per month 150,000
Religious Activities: - Between 125 and 143 chaplains within the U.S. zone - Approx. 126 chapels with 1/3 in space shared in German churches - New chapel/church construction at Garmisch, Wiesbaden, Heidelberg, and Rhein-Main Air Base; - Included regular daily vesper services and Sunday religious services on AFN	Marriages: 1,053 Baptisms: 1,033 Funerals: 341 Patient visits: 135,926 Prisoner visits: 10,082 Pre-marriage counseling: 8,693 Individual counseling: 125,760

Headquarters, EUCOM Special Service Division Sports Programs, 1949

Type of Sport	Contestants	Spectators	Teams
Football	2,125	268,000	46
Touch Football	4,100	164,000	325
Basketball	10,800	2,044.00	540
Boxing	809	120,000	
Bowling	1,695	105,000	1,099
Track	2,070	28,000	33
Swimming	285	8,000	15
Skiing	450	8,700	
Volleyball	3,360	68,600	285
Table Tennis	3,250		
Fencing	106		
Ice Hockey	120	60,200	8
Golf	855		
Tennis	1,148	1,500	
Softball	11,700	350,000	585
Baseball	2,420	1,261,600	121

⁵⁵⁵ Historical Division, European Command, Occupation Forces in Europe Series, 1949, *Annual Narrative Report, 1January-31 December 1949*, 413.

Appendix IV.5.1

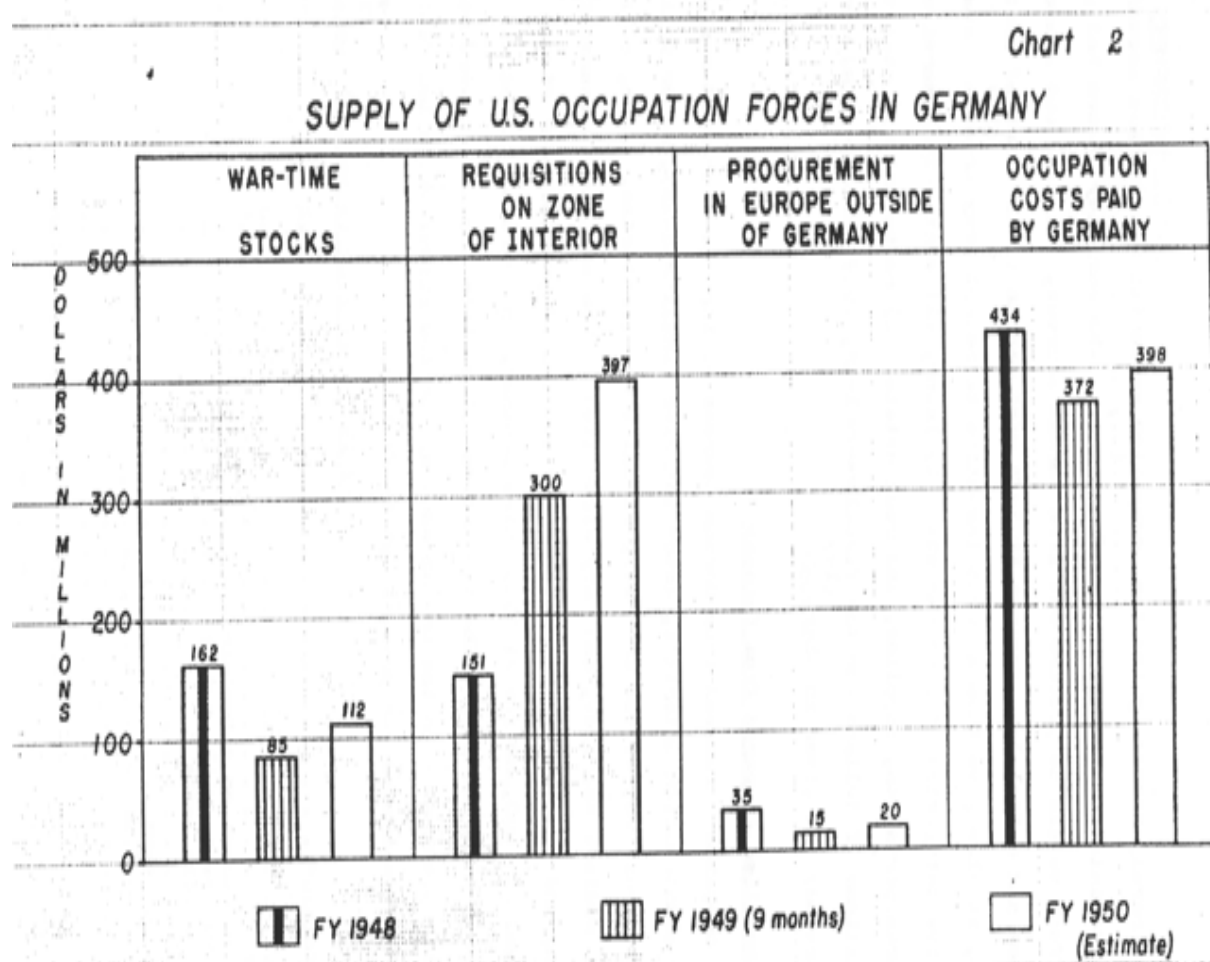
PLANNING RESPONSIBILITY FOR MILITARY COMMUNITIES⁵⁵⁶

USFET AGENCY	TASKS
Quartermaster	Establishment of commissaries, including home delivery service Bakeries Laundry, dry cleaning, shoe repair services Supply of household furnishings
Army Exchange Service	Post exchanges, with branches in each community furnishing clothing sales, fountain services, sale of locally procured foods and dairy products (as authorized), gifts, sundry items, automobiles (and more) Barber shops, beauty parlors Auto repair, gasoline services Tailor shops Photo shops
Special Services	Athletic facilities to include riding stables, ball parks, football fields, swimming pools, gymnasiums Theaters (both movie and play) Service clubs Libraries Guest houses Playgrounds for children Other entertainment as requested and available Red Cross activities
Information and Education	Schools, K through 12, procurement of teachers Adult educational projects Newspapers, magazines
Chaplain	Facilities for religious services (denominations as required)
Surgeon	Hospitals & clinics for medical care of military personnel and dependents
Signal	Communications facilities, including home telephone service
Bremen Port Command	Staging (facilities) for incoming and outgoing dependents to include Guest House accommodations, handling of baggage, et al
Transportation	Movement of dependents, baggage and household goods between military communities and the port Plan for the flow of dependents into the Theater
Engineer	Establish construction standards based on requirements specified by other services & on availability of construction materials Determination of requirements for materials and labor
Adjutant General	Postal service for troops and their families
Commanding Generals of major tactical commands	Responsible for the development, organization and efficient functioning of the MILCOMS assigned to them ⁵⁵⁷ Appoint community commanders for each community

⁵⁵⁶ Office of the Chief Historian European Command, *Domestic Economy* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1947), 23, 40-42.

Appendix Chapter IV.5.

Supply Status, U. S. Forces, Germany, November 1949



Source: Briefing of Congressional Committees, EUCOM Hq (2 Nov 49).

Appendix V.2

Snapshot of the OMGUS-WB-ERAD, ICD/ISD and CAD Reorientation Program

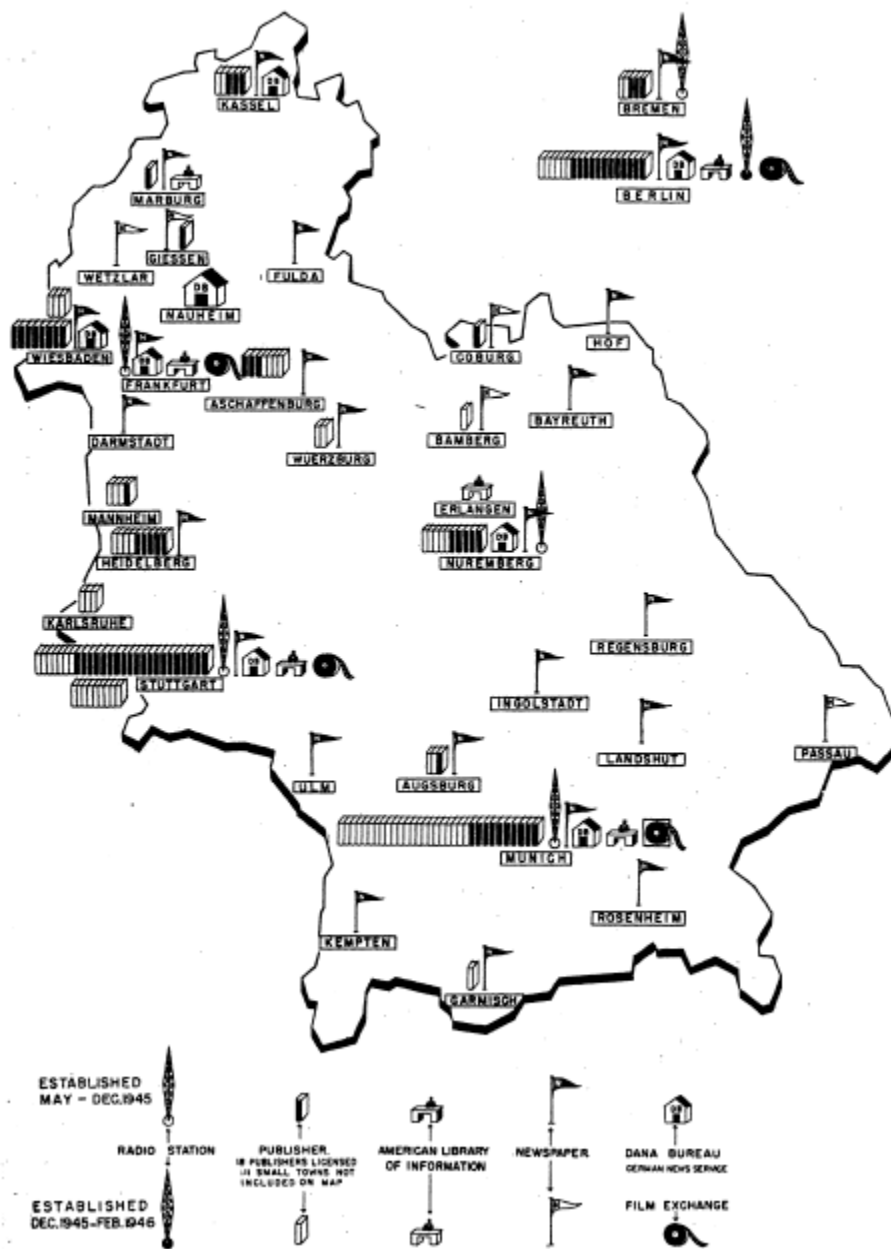
Creating democracy for Germany, even with German assistance, cost both the U. S. government and the German people. Resource-intensive in terms of personnel, funds, time, and the more traditional logistics support, the projects and programs planned, coordinated, implemented, and subsequently monitored, focused on “reorientation of the German cultural pattern.” The buffet of ideas to reorient the German population, presented by the OMGUS-WB-ERAD in their Memorandum 13, Reorientation Program, dated 10 March 1948, kept staffs in the ERAD, ICD/ISD and CAD busy, especially as the divisions argued increasingly that they were understaffed. Documenting German participation is difficult in many cases, as attendance statistics could not be found in most cases. However, even with attendance statistics, measuring and evaluating German response, was not easy, and even surveys such as the Merritts’ analysis of the OMGUS surveys represented only a snapshot in time and place. How palatable were these programs to the German public?

A sample of projects undertaken follows on the next page.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁸ Stuttgart Hauptstaatsarchiv, a compilation of numerous OMGUS-WB Microfiche files.

Project Description
<i>Information Control Division</i>
Public forums
Extension of overt radio programs
Political information programs
Establishment of U. S. Information Centers and American reading rooms (<i>Amerikahäuser</i>)
Surveying German public opinion
Promoting exchange of publishers, editors, radio personnel, writers between Germany and democratic nations
<i>Education and Religious Affairs Division</i>
German school reform, to include bringing local community and parents into the equation
Supervision & operation of curriculum & textbook revision centers, to include development of social studies (civic duties and responsibilities) in the curriculum at all school levels
Importation & distribution of relief cultural supplies from foreign nations.
Establishing radio programs in the schools, to include assisting with procurement of the radio sets
Procuring & distributing foreign educational materials to the German schools; establishing direct relations between German and American schools
Encouraging & coordinating correspondence and conferences between American expert consultants and German officials
Coordinating activities of voluntary agencies working in Germany
Expediting student/teacher exchange between Germany and the U. S.
Supervision of <i>Kreis</i> and <i>Land</i> youth activities (GYA)
Conducting seminars with German groups concerned with educational, religious, and youth activities
<i>Civil Administration Division</i>
Conducting seminars explaining military government policies and coordination with German officials; orientation of Germans on democratization aims and principles; Between Sep 47 and Mar 48: seminars in 22 locations in Württemberg-Baden, with a total attendance of 1,032 German residents
Conducting public forums on protection of civic liberties and other political/civic actions possible for Germans; Heidelberg (1/48), 1,200 attending; Esslingen (3/48), 200 attending; Sinsheim (4/48), 100 attending.
Purchase and translation of material on public administration for German government officials and educators
Preparation of documentary films

Appendix V.4, Distribution of Information Services in the U. S. Zone⁵⁵⁹



⁵⁵⁹ OMGUS, Report of the Military Governor, February 1946, 19.

Command	German Youth Participating			Officers Assigned				Enlisted Assigned				US Civ	Youth Centers				Organized Youth Groups	Gasoline Expended
	Male	Female	Total	Male W A C				Male W A C					Army Recruited	Others	Total			
				Full Time	Primary Duty	Full Time	Primary Duty	Full Time	Primary Duty	Full Time	Primary Duty							
Augsburg	67,385	53,115	120,500	1	1			3					15	13	28	154	1395	
Berlin	57,425	43,029	100,454	8	2	1		24	16				10	1	11	32	----	
B P O E	23,864	23,247	47,111	2		1		3		1	1		13	1	14	93	604	
Frankfurt	165,875	189,972	355,847	15		2	1	33	3	1			32		32	82	2650	
Garmisch	13,488	13,311	26,799	1	1	1	1	3					4	1	5	7	255	
Heidelberg	208,604	157,039	365,643	2		1		3		2			25	8	33	104	1500	
Munich	67,098	50,899	117,997	4				16	4	3		1	22	20	42	274	2460	
Nurnberg	72,448	65,878	138,326	2	4	1		28	3			1	14	18	32	260	1623	
Stuttgart	40,488	41,906	82,394	2		1			1				11	4	15	196	1492	
U S A F E	88,748	86,239	174,987	11	4			38	1	2		4	18	16	34	78	2325	
Wetzlar	46,256	38,420	84,676	2	1			7					16	9	25	177	2589	
Wurzburg	36,300	38,012	74,312			1		8	17				12	2	14	211	537	
TOTAL	887,979	801,067	1,689,046	50	13	9	2	166	45	9	1	6	192	93	285	1668	18430	

⁵⁶⁰ U. S. Army Europe, Historical Division. *Occupation Forces in Europe Series, The U. S. Armed Forces German Youth Activities Program, 1945-1955* (Frankfurt-am-Main, August 1956).

Appendix: Glossary

ACC	Allied Control Commission
ACC/AMG	Allied Control Commission/Allied Military Government
ADSEC	Advance Section
Adv	Advance
AEF	American Expeditionary Forces
AG	Adjutant General
ARGONAUT	International Conference held at Malta and Yalta, January-February 1945
ASCZ	Advance Section, Communications Zone
Bn	Battalion
CA	Civil Affairs
CAD	Civil Affairs Division
CAHQ	Civil Affairs Headquarters
CA/MG	Civil Affairs/Military Government
CATS	Civil Affairs Training School
CCAC	Combined Civil Affairs Committee
CCAC/L	Subcommittee of Combined Civil Affairs Committee in London
CCAC/S	Supply subcommittee of the Combined Civil Affairs Committee
CCS	Combined Chiefs of Staff
CG	Commanding General
CinC	Commander in Chief
Class I Supply	Subsistence items, generally food and water
Class II Supply	Military clothing, individual equipment and administrative supplies
Class III Supply	Petroleum, oils and lubricants
Class IV Supply	Construction and barrier materials
Class V Supply	Ammunition
Class VI Supplies	Personal demand items such as soap, toothbrushes, etc.
Class VII Supply	Major end items, e.g., vehicles, aircraft
Class VIII Supply	Medical material
Class IX Supply	Repair parts
Class X Supply	Items for non-military programs, e.g., civil affairs operations; this class of supply was not a separate class during world War II

CO	Commanding Officer
COMMS	Communications
CofS	Chief of Staff
ComZ or COMMZ	Communications Zone
CONUS	Continental United States
COSSAC	Chief of Staff, Supreme Allied Command; Chief of Staff to the Supreme Allied Commander (Designate) Coy Company
CRICKET	Malta portion of ARCONAUT Conference
D.B.S.	Delta Base Section
DCOSSAC	Deputy Chief of Staff, Supreme Allied Command
Dept	Department
Det	Detachment
Div	Division
DJAG	Deputy Judge Advocate General
DODDS	Department of Defense Dependent Schools (replaced the Dependent School System)
DP	Displaced Person
DPMG	Deputy Provost Marshal General
DPRSC	Displaced Persons and Repatriation Sub-commission
DPR&W	Displaced Persons Relief and Welfare
DRAGOON	Final code for Allied invasion of southern coast of France, 15 August 1944
DSS	Dependent School System
EAC	European Advisory Commission
ECAD	European Civil Affairs Division
ECLIPSE	Name given in November 1944 to post-hostilities plan for the initial phase of military occupation of Germany
EM	Enlisted Men
ERAD, ECAD	Education and Religious Affairs Division, succeeded by Education and Cultural Affairs Division – branch of military government organization
ET; ETO	European Theater; European Theater of Operations
HQTRS, EUCOM	Headquarters, European Command
FECOMZ	Forward Echelon, Communications Zone
FM	Field Manual

FUSA	First U.S. Army
FUSAG	First U.S. Army Group
Fwd	Forward
G-1	Personnel Division, General Staff
G-2	(Military) Intelligence Division, General Staff
G-3	Operations Division, General Staff
G-4	Supply Division, General Staff
G-5	Civil Affairs Division of SHAEF, AFHQ, Army divisions
Gen	General
GHQ	General Headquarters
GO	General Order
Gp	Group
GS	General Staff
HICOG	High Commissioner for Germany
HQ; Hq	Headquarters
HUSKY	Allied invasion of Sicily, July 1943
HUSKYLAND	Code name for Sicily
I&C	Information and Censorship
Inf	Infantry
Intel	Intelligence
ICD, ICS	Information Control Division, succeeded by Information Control Service, branch of military government organization
IRO	International Relief Organization, UN organization succeeding UNRRA in administration and maintenance of the DP mission
JAG	Judge Advocate General
JAGD	Judge Advocate General's Department
JCAC	Joint Civil Affairs Committee
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
LOC	Line of Communications
LST	Landing Ship (Tank)
MFA&A	Sub-commission for Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives
MG	Military Government
MGR	Military Government Regulation
Mil	Military
MILCON	Military community

MP	Military Police
MRS	Military Railway Service
Msg	Message
MT	Military Transport
MTO	Mediterranean Theater of Operations
MTOUSA	Mediterranean Theater of Operations, U.S. Army
NATO USA	North African Theater of Operations, U.S. Army
NEPTUNE	Actual 1944 operations within OVERLORD. This code name was used for security reasons after September 1943 on all OVERLORD planning papers which referred to the target area and date.
OCMH	Office, Chief of Military History
OCS	Office, Chief of Staff
OMGUS	Office of Military Government United States in Germany
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
OTB	Occupational Troop Basis
OVERLORD	Plan for the Allied cross-Channel invasion of northwest Europe, June 1944
OWI	Office of War Information
PAD	Public Affairs Division
PBS	Peninsular Base Section
PMG	Provost Marshal General
PMGO	The Provost Marshal General's Office
POL	Petroleum, Oil, Lubricants
POW	Prisoner of War
PWD	Psychological Warfare Division
QM	Quartermaster
QMG	Quartermaster General
QUADRANT	U.S.-British Conference at Quebec, August 1943
RANKIN	Plan for return to the Continent in the event of deterioration of the German position
Regt	Regiment
SAC	Supreme Allied Commander
SACMED	Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean Theater
SCAEF	Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Forces
SEXTANT	International Conference at Cairo, November and December 1943

SGS	Secretary, General Staff
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force
SMG	School of Military Government
SOP	Standing Operating Procedure
SOS	Services of Supply
Sup	Supply
SW	Secretary of War
SWNCC	State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee
TAG	The Adjutant General
TOE	Table of Organization and Equipment
Telecon	Telephone conversation
Tng	Training
TORCH	Allied invasion of North and Northwest Africa, 1942
TRIDENT	U.S.-British conference held at Washington, May 1943
TSFET	Theater Service Forces, European Theater
TUSA	Third U.S. Army
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
USFET	United States Forces European Theater
WD	War Department
WDCSA	War Department Chief of Staff, U.S. Army
WDGS	War Department General Staff
WDP	War Department Pamphlet
WPB	War Production Board
WPD	War Plans Division
WSA	War Shipping Administration
ZI	Zone of Interior

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